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IRISH HISTORY FROM CONTEMPORARY SOURCES (1509—1610)

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IRISH HISTORY FROM CONTEMPORARY SOURCES (1509—1610)

BY

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PREFACE

THIS book is intended primarily for students and teachers of Irish History, to whom it is hoped the extracts given will be of service, whatever generalisations they may base upon them.

Most of the selections have been made to illustrate English rule, and are largely, though not by any means entirely, drawn from English sources and official State Papers. It should be borne in mind that almost all writers of the period were animated by a certain amount of religious and political bias.

No treatment of Irish History can be satisfactory which does not take account of the independent life and feeling of the Irish people; but no adequate history of Irish nationalism at this period can be written until a more complete study of the Irish sources has been made by competent scholars. Except for the Annals, few works of a purely historical nature have been written in Middle or Modern Irish. Until more of the documents that lie buried in foreign archives have been collected, and more of the Bardic poems have been edited and translated, full light cannot be thrown upon Irish sentiment and social life. With respect to foreign collections, a good beginning has been made recently by the publication of documents from the Vatican Archives, relating to Irish affairs in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in the *Archivium Hibernicum* of the Catholic Record Society; while for specimens of Bardic literature, the student is referred to O'Grady's *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum.* The history of Irish nationalism cannot be studied, however, apart from English rule, and the reaction of the Irish people to the various phases of English policy inevitably throws light upon their national history and character.

A few of the documents from which extracts are given have been copied from manuscripts, but the majority are taken from published sources. A very large number of these are now unfortunately out of print, and so are necessarily inaccessible to many teachers.

The spelling, and place names as far as possible, have been modernised throughout, to suit the convenience of the student.

Some of the extracts included in Parts I and II have already been published in a small volume printed in the S.P.C.K. *Texts for Students* Series, No. 27.

My thanks are due to all those who have given permission to use extracts from copyright sources; to Dr. R. I. Best and Dr. Osborn Bergin, who have revised the translation of several of the Irish extracts; and to Professor C. F. Bastable and Mr. W. F. Butler, and Mr. Philip Wilson, to whom I am indebted for several useful suggestions.

I take this opportunity of thanking the Board of Trinity College, Dublin, for the generous help given by them towards the expenses of publication.

CONSTANTIA MAXWELL

DUBLIN,
May, 1923

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INTRODUCTION

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

Cal. S.P.I. and *Cal. S.P. Ireland* = Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland. Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, 11 vols. Ed. by H. C. Hamilton (Vols i to v), E. G. Atkinson (Vols. vi to x), and R. P. Mahaffy (vol. xi). James I. Ed. by C. W. Russell.

Cal. Car. MSS. = Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts. Ed. by J. S. Brewer and W. Bullen.

S. P. Hen. VIII. = State Papers Henry VIII. Published under the authority of His Majesty's Commission. Vols. ii, iii (1834).

L. and P. and *L. and P. Hen. VIII* = Letters and Papers. Henry VIII. Ed. by J. S. Brewer (vols. i to iv), J. Gairdner (Vols. v to xiii), and J. Gairdner and R. Brodie (Vols. xiv to xxi).

Cal. Pat. Rolls. Calendar of the Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery in Ireland. Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth. Ed. by J. Morrin.

Cal. S.P. Spanish = Calendar of Letters and State Papers relating to English affairs, preserved in, or originally belonging to, the Archives of Simancas. Ed. by M. Hume. Elizabeth. 4 vols.

Cal. S.P. Venetian = Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English affairs existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice. Ed. by R. Brown (Vols. i to vii), Rt. Hon. G. Cavendish-Bentinck (Vol. vii), H. Brown (Vols. viii to xii).

Hist. Cath. = *Historiæ Catholicæ Iberniæ Compendium*, by Philip O. Sullivan Beare (1621).

Pac. Hib. = *Pacata Hibernia : Ireland appeased and reduced*, by Sir Thomas Stafford (1633). Edited with an introduction by Standish O'Grady 1896 (2 vols.).

NOTE.—Where a page number alone is quoted in the footnotes, the reference is to a page in this book.

I. THE IRISH POLICY OF HENRY VIII [1]

At the beginning of the sixteenth century there was little trace of the powerful Norman colony which had been established in Ireland during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Only a complete conquest could have secured the country, but the Kings of England during the Middle Ages gave what attention they had to spare to their wars in France, Scotland and Wales, and had not sufficient money or men with which to enforce their authority in Ireland.[2] By the beginning of the fourteenth century the native Irish had advanced from the fastnesses to which they had been driven, and gradually recovered the greater part of those territories which had been conquered by the Normans. In Dublin and the surrounding neighbourhood,[3] which maintained a direct contact with England, as also in the seaport towns, English influences were more or less preserved; but by the end of the fourteenth century, even in the four counties of Dublin, Louth, Meath and Kildare, which comprised the Pale, the power and authority of the English Government had much diminished. The Irish came down from the mountains to carry off English property, or exacted heavy tributes or "black rents" as the price of peace. Many of the English, despite the separatist policy laid down in the Statute of Kilkenny (1367), had adopted the Irish language, and were becoming Irish in manners, dress and outlook. The Lords of the Pale administered the Brehon law, and took "coyne and livery" [4] (i.e. refection for men and horses) without discrimination. The Deputies also oppressed the people with illegal exactions.[5] In the

[1] For a general account, see R. Bagwell, *Ireland under the Tudors*; *Cambridge Modern History*, III. ch. 18; P. Wilson, *Beginnings of Modern Ireland*; A. G. Richey, *Short History of the Irish People*; R. Dunlop, *Some Aspects of Henry VIII's Irish Policy*; Brewer's Introduction to *Calendar of Carew MSS.*, II. xxxvi–lxxxii; M. J. Bonn, *Die englische Kolonisation in Irland.*

[2] Sir John Davies, *A Discovery of the True Causes why Ireland was never entirely Subdued* (1612), pp. 4–7.

[3] This district, which was once surrounded with a dyke, and in which the King's writ ran, was known as the Pale. "The Council, being in a corner of the land, are satisfied if the part of the 4 shires called the English Pale be at peace; in which case they report to the King that the land is in good quiet, caring no more for the rest of it than the Venetians do for the Scots. They have thus diminished the King's jurisdiction from a large forest to a narrow park."—*Letters and Papers Hen. VIII*, IV. (ii), No. 2405. See below, p. 312.

[4] See pp. 60–1.

[5] *L. and P.*, IV. (ii), No. 2405, and see pp. 84, 86–8.

more remote districts, the descendants of the original settlers, left to their own devices, either maintained a strong isolated position as semi-feudal barons, or, unable to protect themselves and desirous of escaping from their feudal obligations, allowed their social organisation to be merged in that of the Irish clans from whom they gradually became indistinguishable.[1] The chief of the Anglo-Irish lords who had achieved a practical independence were the Earls of Kildare, Desmond and Ormonde, whose territories extended roughly over the south and south-west. The Burkes in Connacht, originally De Burgos, were the most powerful of those families which had become completely Irishized. Amongst the purely Irish clans, the O'Neills and the O'Donnells were predominant; they held almost the whole of Ulster, which had originally been partially colonised by Normans, but which was now practically lost to the Crown. Other important clans were the O'Briens in Clare, the McMurroughs or Kavanaghs in the neighbourhood of Kilkenny, and the O'Tooles and the O'Byrnes, who occupied the Wicklow Mountains and constantly threatened the Pale. The amounts paid by the English in "black rents" to the various Irish "captains" at the beginning of this period will give some idea of the extent of the Gaelic power.[2]

The lack of a strong central government, in such conditions, produced a state of chaos. The Irish annalists describe how the Irish clans fought for supremacy,[3] and the State Papers give a gloomy picture of the anarchy elsewhere.[4] The pacification of the country was a "hydra's task,"[5] beyond the power or imagination of a statesman of that period. By the end of the fifteenth century, however, the problem of Ireland was more urgent than it had ever been. Richard, Duke of York, who came over as Viceroy in 1449, had founded the Yorkist party in Ireland, and Anglo-Irish lords fought in the battles of the Wars of the Roses. Lambert Simnel was actually crowned King in Dublin in 1487, while Perkin Warbeck was entertained as a royal personage in Cork.[6] Later, the Earl of Desmond and others, taking advantage of the political situation created by the divorce of Henry VIII, carried on intrigues with the Emperor, and the latter actually promised Desmond that he should be included in any treaty which he might conclude with Henry VIII.[7] These facts could hardly be ignored by the "New

[1] Davies, *Discovery*, pp. 132–3, 151–2.

[2] The sum of the black rents amounted to £740, and this was at a time when a soldier received 4d. a day.—Bagwell, *op. cit.* I. 129. See p. 82.

[3] See, for example, *Annals of the Four Masters* (ed. O. Donovan), V. 1379.

[4] See pp. 79–85.

[5] "I wish that Ireland were a fish pool, for this age shall never see it settled in peace. . . . God once deliver me from this hydra's task, where toil and mischiefs are endless."—Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil (28 June, 1602), *Cal. Carew MSS.*, IV. 258.

[6] Bagwell, *op. cit.* I. 102–10.

[7] See p. 92.

Monarchy," especially as there was good cause for believing that Ireland might be used as a back door for an invasion of England. The realisation of her strategical importance, in fact, supplies the main clue to the whole Tudor policy in Ireland of unification and control.[1]

Henry VIII at first continued his father's economical policy of governing through the most powerful of the Anglo-Irish lords, the Earls of Kildare. The latter, by their campaigns against the Irish, certainly at first restored the royal prestige, but they came to abuse their authority for their personal advantage, and to govern almost entirely in their own interest.[2] When the ninth Earl seemed to be threatening to erect a principality on the very borders of the Pale, the advantages of Geraldine rule became extremely doubtful. Kildare was summoned to London to answer various charges made against him, and on the report (which was later confirmed) that he had died in the Tower, his son, Thomas Lord Offaly, popularly known as "Silken Thomas" (from the fact that his followers wore silken fringes on their helmets), broke into rebellion on the 11th June, 1534. He was joined by O'Connor and other chieftains whose territories bordered on the Pale, and laid siege to Dublin. The terrified citizens opened the gates, and Lord Thomas occupied the city with the exception of the Castle. Archbishop Alen, who had been head of the anti-Geraldine party, was murdered by Kildare's followers, but shortly afterwards the Earl of Ormonde, whose family had always been loyal to England as a matter of policy, invaded the Geraldine territories in the south, and "Silken Thomas" was forced to leave Dublin to protect his country. In September he returned and again laid siege to Dublin, but as Ormonde renewed his attacks in the south, he was forced finally to raise the siege (4th Oct.). At the end of the month, Sir William Skeffington arrived with English reinforcements, and the Kildare stronghold of Maynooth, perhaps the strongest castle in Ireland, was besieged. The castle was taken on the 23rd March, 1535, by means of the new heavy artillery, possibly now used for the first time in Ireland. Kildare's allies fell away from him, and on the 18th Aug., 1536, he surrendered to Lord Leonard Grey, now Marshal of the army. He was taken to London and imprisoned in the Tower, where he seems to have been much neglected, and executed, with five of his uncles, at Tyburn on the 3rd Feb., 1537.[3] The rebellion of "Silken Thomas" had been a formidable danger to the Government, and it was hoped that the defeat of the

[1] The urgency of the Irish question was emphasised as early as 1436 by the author of the "Libel of English Policy."—See Wright, *Political Poems and Songs*, II. 185–90.

[2] *S.P. Hen. VIII* (1834), II. 182–92.

[3] A general account of the rebellion of "Silken Thomas" will be found in the Act for the Attainder of the Earl of Kildare (28 Hen. VIII, c. 1), *Irish Statutes* (1786), I. 66.

Geraldines would increase the prestige of England abroad.[1] Kildare had boasted that he would have the aid of 12,000 Spaniards,[2] and had offered to hold his lands of both Pope and Emperor if they would defend him in the Catholic faith against Henry VIII.[3]

The fall of the Geraldines made a deep impression upon the country. "Irishmen be at this season in such an extreme fear, by the example of the repressing of the Geraldines," wrote the Lord Deputy and Council to Henry VIII on the 26th June, 1536, "as they never were hitherto within any remembrance; expecting daily either that your Grace will exile them, or compel them to a due obedience, as your other subjects be."[4] Nevertheless many of them were in arms, and a series of campaigns were now planned to subdue the country. Those undertaken by Grey against the O'Briens in the west, and the Kavanaghs to the south-west of the Pale, were perhaps the most striking. O'Brien, Prince of Thomond, had thrown a great bridge across the Shannon, five miles above Limerick, and was thus enabled to enter Munster at will, and extend his authority towards the south. The bridge was of wood, with a castle at each end built into the water; it was broken down by Grey in August, 1536. The Kavanaghs were subdued in 1538.[5] The submission of the northern chieftains, the most powerful in Ireland, was also secured. The country, however, was always "much easier won than kept,"[6] and the chieftains were again actively negotiating with the Continent.[7]

In virtue of the "Donation of Constantine," by which the Popes claimed temporal dominion over all the islands of the ocean, Adrian IV, by the Bull "Laudabiliter," had conferred the "Lordship" of Ireland upon Henry II. Henry VIII had been declared Head of the Irish Church in 1536, and thus severed his connection with Rome. It was important that he should be held from henceforth to rule Ireland independent of the Pope, and that the power of the Crown should be placed on an indisputable basis. On the 16th June, 1541, therefore, a Parliament was summoned, which conferred the title of "King" upon Henry VIII,[8] a recognition of his military successes which profoundly influenced public feeling, and increased the prestige of the Crown among the clans. O'Reilly and other Irishmen were present at this Parliament, and, though they did not actually vote, gave their assent to the measure. In a proclamation of the same year, the King's style appears as follows: "Henry VIII, King of England, Ireland and France, Defender of the Faith, and on earth Supreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland."[9]

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, II. 277.
[2] *L. and P.*, VII, No. 957.
[3] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, II. 198, 221–2; *L. and P.*, VII, No. 1095.
[4] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, II. 339.
[5] See pp. 98–100.
[6] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, II. 535.
[7] See Wilson, *op. cit.* pp. 171–226.
[8] See pp. 101–2.
[9] *Cal. Car. MSS.*, I. 183.

Henry VIII now decided upon an entirely new policy in Ireland. Instead of the Irish being treated as "enemies" and excluded from English law, as they had been during the Middle Ages,[1] they were to be accepted as "subjects."[2] If the chieftains would hold their lands in the feudal manner, and agree to certain terms in return for certain privileges, they would become subjects in the English sense, peace would be secured, and the King recover his power. There were only two courses open to the Government, "a conquest, or a politic reformation."[3] Henry grudged the expense of a long war and desired to obtain a revenue, and so he adopted a policy of conciliation. The possibilities of statesmanship in Ireland were realised to some extent at this time. If the people were caused to know the "ways of justice," wrote the King in 1520, they might abandon their "unlawful demeanours."[4] "As to the surmise of the bruteness of the people, and the incivility of them, no doubt, if there were justice used amongst them," said the writer of a report to Cromwell in 1533, "they would be found as civil, wise, politic, and as active, as any other nation."[5] "The Irishmen," said another writer in 1541, "have pregnant, subtle wits. . . . They must be instructed, that the King intendeth not to exile, banish or destroy them, but would be content that every of them should enjoy his possessions, taking the same of the King . . . and to become his true subjects obedient to his laws, forsaking their Irish laws, habits and customs, setting their children to learn English."[6] Most of the Dublin officials, however, embittered no doubt by their difficulties, favoured a war of extermination,[7] especially the Earl of Surrey, who acted as Deputy from 1520 to 1521 and was a man of wide experience. "After my poor opinion," he wrote, "this land shall never be brought to good order and due subjection but only by conquest."[8] The King, for his part, could not afford an indefinitely prolonged war, and the policy of "Surender and Regrant" gradually took shape. The Deputy, Sir Anthony St. Leger, continued the negotiations with the chieftains, commenced by Grey. They agreed to hold their lands of the King, and to receive English titles, to renounce the authority of the Pope, to accompany the Lord Deputy on hostings (or raids against those in rebellion against the King), to attend Parliament, and to send their sons to be educated in England. In return, they were to be defended against their enemies; and many of them received a grant of those Church lands which had been confiscated by the King, and which lay within their own territories. Earldoms were conferred upon Con O'Neill, MacWilliam Burke, and

[1] See p. 74.
[2] See p. 114.
[3] *L. and P.*, XIX. (i), No. 79.
[4] See p. 104.
[5] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, II. 173.
[6] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, III. 348.
[7] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, II. 323, 329.
[8] See p. 89.

Murrough O'Brien, and lesser titles were given to minor chieftains. Some of the Irish went to London to receive their honours, among others being the great O'Neill, none of whose ancestors had ever crossed the Channel.[1] An Act passed in 1542[2] shows the practical idea which lay behind the Government policy. Those who failed to keep their covenants in their new capacity as English subjects were to be treated as traitors, and their lands forfeited to the Crown. It was felt that the chiefs would be obliged to remain good subjects, for now they would "depend upon" the King. "If he continue true," the Irish Council had written in 1537 with regard to O'Connor, "then the strength of that country (Offaly) shall be the King's own. If he did otherwise," they pointed out, "his Grace's enemy is banished by this mean" and the Crown might confiscate his lands.[3]

The weakness of Henry's policy lay in the fact that by negotiating with the chieftains only, he neglected the mass of the clansmen. By tanistry, the Irish law of succession, a chieftain's authority descended not necessarily to his son, but to the strong man elected by the clan.[4] Henry assumed that he was himself the absolute owner of all Irish lands, and acted accordingly, but the tribesmen naturally resented being deprived of their share of the tribe lands, and losing their power of election with regard to their chiefs. The English King, governed by feudal principles, confused the office of chieftain with the ownership of land, and made his bargain with individuals who were really subordinate to a system, and could not bind their successors. There had always been domestic intrigues within the clans; these were now increased ten-fold by English policy. The chiefs could not stand out against the public opinion of the clansmen, and as time went on, they were literally unable to keep their agreements with the Crown.[5] This blunder led to the breakdown of Henry VIII's policy under Elizabeth.

Henry also desired to abandon the mediæval system of separating the English and Irish in Ireland, for he believed that a diversity of "tongue, language, order and habit," kept the country divided, whereas all should be "wholly together one body," whereof he was to be "the only head under God."[6] An Act was passed giving expression to his views in 1537.[7] This part of his policy

[1] See p. 108.
[2] See p. 112.
[3] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, II. 444.
[4] See pp. 59, 332–3.
[5] See an English estimate of the evils of tanistry, *Cal. Car. MSS.*, I. 339. For an account of disputed successions in the new earldoms, see *Cal. Car. MSS.*, I. 212, 237, 249; *S.P. Hen. VIII*, III. 491. See the advice given by an Irish poet to a chieftain who had accepted English honours, O'Grady's *Cat. of Irish MSS. in the Brit. Museum*, p. 403, and a letter from the Earl of Tyrone to Hen. VIII (31 Jan., 1543), in which he asks for relief against his own tenants who have withdrawn their rents, in *L.and P.*, XIX. (i.), No. 78. "Believe me out of my experience," wrote Mountjoy to Cecil in 1603, "the titles of our honours do rather weaken than strengthen them in this country."—Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary* (ed. 1907), III. 294.
[6] See p. 113.
[7] See pp. 112–14.

was perpetuated during the sixteenth century. It did not apparently meet with any great success, for it was not until James I's reign that English law became operative over the whole country, and while Brehon law remained, Irish manners and customs necessarily prevailed.

Henry VIII had done his best to solve the Irish problem, and his arrangements met with at least temporary success. The Council of Ireland wrote to the King in March, 1545, that the English Pale was "in such peace, as it was not in any time of our remembrance—and as for the Irishry, albeit that your Majesty's laws be not current among them . . . they more recognise and acknowledge your Majesty to be King of this Realm, and be more conformable to your Majesty and your Grace's Deputy, his commandment, than ever we knew them in our times." [1] Towards the end of the reign the pacification of Ireland was so well advanced that Henry was able to send a large contingent of kerne (i.e. Irish foot soldiers) overseas, to take part in his French and Scottish wars. "This 200 years, so many men," wrote the Lord Deputy from Dublin to Henry VIII in 1545, "were not embarked and victualled here." [2]

Though Henry VIII was fundamentally an opportunist, he had hoped, by just and honest means, to convert the Irish chiefs into supporters of the Crown. He broke away from the apathetic attitude towards Irish affairs maintained by most of his predecessors during the Middle Ages. His policy of conciliation was not destined to succeed, but as an attempt at constructive statesmanship it forms a prominent landmark in Anglo-Irish relations.

II. THE REFORMATION [3]

The introduction of the Reformation into Ireland by Henry VIII was not calculated to win the sympathies of the Irish people, and was thus hardly consistent with the rest of his Irish policy. The condition of the Irish Church at the beginning of the sixteenth century must have reflected the state of the country. It was divided against itself, for the English and Irish Churches in Ireland had always been hostile and distinct. Religious houses in purely Irish districts refused to admit Englishmen within their walls,[4] whereas Irishmen could not legally be received into monasteries

[1] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, III. 560–1, *cf. ibid.*, pp. 358–9.

[2] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, III. 543; *cf. ibid.*, pp. 537, 541; *L. and P.*, XIX. (i), Nos. 240, 261, 477, 575; XX. (ii), Nos. 792, 819; Stanihurst in Holinshed's *Chronicles* (ed. 1808), VI. 314–15.

[3] For a short account of the Reformation in Ireland, see Brewer in *Cal. Car. MSS.* II. xiv–xxv; Mant, *Hist. of the Church of Ireland*; Bellesheim, *Geschichte der katholischen Kirche in Irland.*

[4] Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 153; Richey, *Short History*, p. 178.

situated among the English.[1] Many of the churches were actually in ruins. In 1525 the Earl of Kildare informed the King of the extreme decay of religious buildings in Kilkenny and Tipperary,[2] and in 1516, in a report made to the Pope on the diocese of Clonmacnoise, it was stated that the cathedral was roofless and had but one altar covered with thatch, and a small sacristy. A similar report on Ardagh, in 1517, showed that the annual income of the see was only 10 ducats, and that the bare walls of the church alone were standing. The same year the cathedral of Ross was shown to be in a similar plight.[3] Though no general charge of immorality has been made against the Irish monasteries, Catholic historians admit certain abuses in the Church itself. The prelates seem often to have neglected their duties, the clergy did not instruct or preach to the people,[4] and there was a deficiency of schools.[5] The mendicant orders, however, were active preachers, and they alone seem to have had any influence with the people. They professed no obedience to bishops, but always maintained a peculiarly close connection with the Holy See. During the Middle Ages, the Popes had supported the authority of the English Crown in Ireland,[6] but Henry VIII's ecclesiastical policy necessitated a different attitude. The friars, as loyal adherents to the Papacy, became openly and vigorously hostile to the King, and it was largely due to their influence that the Reformation was a failure.[7]

The Church policy of Henry in Ireland was in line with that which he carried out at home, for after the declaration of the royal supremacy in 1535 there was some danger of a Catholic reaction in England, and in Ireland "Silken Thomas" in rebellion had boldly invoked the authority of the Pope.[8] A royal commission was appointed in 1535, which included George Browne, consecrated Archbishop of Dublin the same year, to persuade the upper classes in Ireland to acknowledge the King's supremacy over the Irish Church. As the work of this body was ineffective,[9] taking advantage of the prestige gained by the Crown through the defeat

[1] Statute of Kilkenny (ed. Hardiman), xiii, xiv.

[2] See p. 88.

[3] Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum*, pp. 518, 521, 529. For other instances of the dissolution of the churches, poverty of sees, depopulation of parishes and difficulty of collecting episcopal and other annates, see Coleman's Introduction to Costello's *De Annatis Hiberniæ* (1400–1535).

[4] See p. 85.

[5] Richey, *op. cit.* p. 295.

[6] See a Papal Bull of 1317, quoted in Sir J. Gilbert's *Account of Facsimiles of National MSS. of Ireland*, p. 105.

[7] "The friars and priests of all the Irishry . . . do preach daily, that every man ought, for the salvation of his soul, fight and make war against our Sovereign Lord the King's Majesty . . . and if any of them . . . die in the quarrel, his soul, that so shall be dead, shall go to Heaven, as the soul of SS. Peter, Paul and others, which suffered death and martyrdom for God's sake"—"The Confession of Thomas Lynch of Galway, merchant, late being in O'Donnell's country with a ship of wines" (1539), *S.P. Hen. VIII*, III. 141.

[8] See p. 22.

[9] See p. 121.

of the Geraldines, the Parliament of the Pale was summoned, and various Acts were passed by which Henry became head of the Church.[1] These changes, effected by legislation, being chiefly of a political character, were at first received in Ireland with comparative indifference, for extensive grants of ecclesiastical lands were made at the same time to the chieftains, and the people at large were not at first aware of the significance of what had happened.

The "Form of the Beads,"[2] an exposition of the royal supremacy drawn up by Archbishop Browne for the benefit of his clergy, was the only doctrinal pronouncement of this time. The attitude of the proctors in Parliament,[3] however, foreshadowed a general opposition from the clergy at large. Browne was from the beginning an unpopular agent of the royal policy, and his exhortations went unheeded. Even the clergy of his own diocese flouted his authority, and he sent many complaints of their conduct to Thomas Cromwell, who was his patron.[4]

As in England, the suppression of the monasteries formed part of the King's policy. By the Act for the Suppression of Abbeys (1537), fourteen religious houses were dissolved by name. Before this, eight abbeys had been suppressed by royal commission. In 1539 another commission provided for the dissolution of all monasteries and for the confiscation of their property.[5] On the 20th May, 1540, a commission was issued to survey and value the rents and revenues of dissolved houses, and to grant estates on leases of twenty-one years. The plate, jewels and other ornaments of the monasteries were reserved to the Crown, while pensions were to be granted to conventual persons.[6] By the Act for the Suppression of Kilmainham and other religious Houses (1542),[7] the property of all monasteries which had already surrendered was vested in the King. Before the end of 1541, nearly all the religious houses in English districts had been dissolved.[8] In Irish districts, however, where the royal authority was merely nominal, many of the monasteries remained standing and the old

[1] The Act of the Supreme Head; The Act of Appeals; The Act of the First Fruits (see pp. 121–2); An Act against the Authority of the Bishop of Rome, which required an oath from office holders and others renouncing the Pope's jurisdiction; An Act for the Twentieth Part, by which the twentieth part of the profits of all spiritual promotions was to be paid yearly to the King for ever; An Act for the Suppression of Abbeys, and so on (28 *Hen. VIII*, cc. 13, 14, 16, etc.).

[2] See p. 123. [3] See pp. 121–2. [4] See pp. 124–5.

[5] See p. 126. [6] See p. 126. [7] 33 Hen. VIII, c. 5.

[8] Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 277. For a list of monasteries and abbeys, names of founders, date of foundation and names of grantees, see Ware's *Antiquities* (ed. Harris), ch. 38; also Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum*. The number of Irish monasteries at the time of the dissolution has been variously estimated as between 350 and 600. Financially the Crown benefited very little by the dissolution. The personal property of the monks has been valued at £100,000, but the amount actually realised fell short of £3,000.—See Wilson, *op. cit.* pp. 146–7, 280.

services continued to be performed up to the time of James I.[1] Monastic lands were given as a matter of policy to both English and Irish. The Earls of Desmond, Thomond and Clanrickarde, received large numbers of abbeys and benefices; O'Neill and O'Donnell also received grants. Both St. Leger and Brabizon acquired abbeys near Dublin. The citizens of the capital received the Priory of All Saints, later the site of Trinity College, for their loyalty during the rebellion of "Silken Thomas."[2] The dissolution of the monasteries—as in England—often meant the destruction of centres of hospitality and education, and deprived many parishes of adequate means of supporting resident clergy.[3] Monastic lands, in consequence, must often have gone out of cultivation, and these were said to have been the best cultivated lands in the island.[4]

As time progressed the feelings of the people were rudely violated by the destruction of a number of sacred relics and images. The Staff of Jesus, the supposed crosier of St. Patrick, preserved in Christ's Church, Dublin, was publicly burnt. The image of the Blessed Virgin at Trim and the Crucifix of Ballybogan in Westmeath were also destroyed. The state of public feeling may be partly surmised from the fact that riots took place in which several persons lost their lives.[5]

During Edward VI's reign the Reformation in Ireland made small progress. Protestant bishops were appointed only in places where the Government could protect them, and as no Parliament was summoned, no fresh legislation was passed. In February, 1551, St. Leger received a mandate from the King for the introduction of the English Prayer Book into Ireland,[6] and on Easter Day the English Liturgy was first read in Christ's Church, Dublin. The same year two doctrinal conferences of the clergy were summoned, as a result of which Archbishop Dowdall, the Primate, and some of the bishops seceded.[7] Dowdall was deprived of the Primacy (Oct., 1551) and the office was promptly bestowed upon Archbishop Browne.[8] Mary restored Dowdall to his see, and filled vacant bishoprics with other persons who favoured her views. Lord Fitzwalter, the Deputy, was instructed in April, 1556, to do everything to further the Catholic faith,[9] and in a Parliament held in Dublin 1556–7, an Act was passed repealing all statutes and pro-

[1] See Sir John Davies's account of monasteries standing in Tyrone, Donegal and Fermanagh.—*Discovery*, pp. 255–6. See also *Cal. State Papers Ireland* (1588–92), pp. 495–500; (Mar.–Oct., 1600), p. 274.

[2] For grants of ecclesiastical estates see the Cal. of Fiants pr. as an appendix to the *7th Rep. Dep. Keeper Public Records, Ireland.*

[3] 33 Hen. VIII, c. 14. [4] Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 151. [5] Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 282.

[6] See pp. 129–30. The Prayer Book of Edward VI was printed in Dublin, 1550–1, and was the first book ever printed in Ireland. No Irish edition seems to have been issued until the beginning of the seventeenth century.

[7] For an account of these conferences, see Mant, *op. cit.* pp. 195–211.

[8] *Cal. Patent Rolls, Ireland* (ed. Morrin), I. 250. [9] See p. 132.

visions made against the See Apostolic of Rome since the twentieth year of Henry VIII.[1] Although Mary was a good Catholic, she did not renounce her supremacy over the Church. She leased out abbey lands to laymen without a thought of their restoration, and styled herself, "Queen of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and on earth Supreme Head of the Churches of England and Ireland."[2]

Shortly after the accession of Elizabeth, in a Parliament held in Dublin in 1560, the supremacy of the State over the Church was re-established. First Fruits were restored to the Crown, and the power of appointing bishops was vested in the Queen. The Act of Uniformity restored the Prayer Book, and enacted that clergy who would not conform, and laymen who did not attend church, should be fined.[3] Legislative enactments were, however, useless in themselves as a means to convert the Irish people. No systematic attempt was made to hold services in Irish or to preach in the Irish language.[4] The benefices yielded such small salaries as a result of the dissolution of the monasteries, that few Englishmen of ability joined the Irish Church. Those who did, according to Spenser, were either "unlearned" or else "men of some bad note for which they have forsaken England."[5] The illiterate character of the priesthood was generally noticed by the writers of the day. "Sermons and prayers they never have any . . . the ale-house is their church . . . their text Spanish sack . . . their singing of psalms [the] whiffing of tobacco."[6]

"Divers of the English [priests]," wrote another observer in 1598, "have not one word of Latin, divers of the Irish, broken Latin, meeter for the tavern than the temple."[7] Few services were held throughout the country; the Catholics were served by their own priests and abstained from Protestant churches. Amongst the most flagrant of the abuses were the pluralities of bishoprics and benefices, and the number of livings leased out to lay persons. Many of the churches left without sufficient revenues fell into decay. Some were used as garrisons by the soldiers, and not infrequently suffered at their hands. The Archbishop of Cashel reported to Sir Robert Cecil in 1601 that the soldiers in the country round Cork, although they had not often destroyed church buildings, had taken the vestments and the doors, and even (presumably in searching for relics) "the very rotten bones out of the monuments, where they lay more than 500 years."[8]

[1] 3 & 4 Philip and Mary, c. 8.
[2] *Cal. Car. MSS.*, III. xxi.
[3] 2 Eliz., cc. 1, 2, 3, 4. See H. Holloway, *The Reformation in Ireland*, ch. 12.
[4] In a few cases instruction was given in Irish, see *Cal. S.P.I.* (1586–8), p. 331.
[5] *View of the Present State of Ireland* (Globe ed.), p. 647.
[6] Lithgow's "Adventures in Ireland" (1619), pr. in *Ulster Journal Archæology* (1911), XVII. 90.
[7] *Cal. S.P.I.* (1598–9), p. 430.
[8] *Cal. S.P.I.* (1600–1), p. 340. For further evidence of the miserable condition

Sir William Gerard, the Irish Chancellor, actually recommended in 1576 that Archbishop Loftus should be translated to some vacant bishopric in England, and that the profits of his see at Dublin should be applied to the maintenance of legal officers to further the execution of justice within the Pale.[1] This is a curious commentary upon the value attached at this time to an ecclesiastic organisation in Ireland.

A Court of High Commission was established in Dublin in 1594 for the inspection and reform of all offences committed against the Act of Uniformity,[2] but few of the spasmodic plans for the reformation of the Church during this period seem to have been effectually carried out. The most successful outcome of reforming effort was the foundation of the University of Dublin by Elizabeth in 1591. The scheme, which had been proposed by Stanihurst[3] and others, received the support of the Corporation of Dublin in 1590. The city presented the Priory of All Saints, which had been granted to them in compensation for losses sustained during the rebellion of "Silken Thomas," as a site for the future college. Letters patent were issued for building on the 3rd March, 1591. The first stone was laid by Thomas Smith, the Mayor of Dublin, in March, 1592, and the first students were admitted in January, 1593.[4] The object of the foundation was to provide a university education for the sons of the English colony in Ireland, and to check the flow of Irish immigration to Catholic colleges abroad. Catholic writers, in view of the declared aim and the Puritan tone of the new foundation, looked with hostility upon the college as a place in which they considered that the Irish youth would be taught heresy by English teachers and lose their desire to cross the sea.[5]

The penal laws were not vigorously executed at this time, for the simple reason that it was impossible to carry them out in a half-conquered country. The Queen also seems to have been lenient in matters of religion, from motives of prudence. She did not wish to make religious persecution an excuse for rebellion, and so she drew a distinction between the secret exercise of Catholicism and the practice of treason under the colour of religion.[6] She did not believe, at all events, in any "curious inquisition of men's consciences," or in "raking into their doings," but preferred to trust generally to the presence of the army in Ireland

of the Church, see *Cal. S.P.I.* (Mar.–Oct. 1600), pp. 273, 277, 295–7; (1603–6), pp. 218–19; (1606–8), pp. 235–44; Spenser's *View*, pp. 646–7.

[1] *Cal. Car. MSS.*, II. 55.

[2] See pp. 136–7.

[3] James Stanihurst, Recorder of Dublin and Speaker of the Irish House of Commons.

[4] For the early history of the College, see Stubbs, *Hist. of the Univ. of Dublin*; Urwick, *Early Hist. of Trinity College, Dublin*; Mant, *Hist. of the Church of Ireland*; also see below pp. 137–40.

[5] See p. 347.

[6] *Cal. Car. MSS.*, III. 458.

to see that her wishes were carried out.[1] The fact that many English recusants, under pretext of "undertaking" Irish land, flocked over to a country in which they were able to secure a comparatively safe asylum, shows that the theory of toleration was put in practice.[2] The bitterness displayed by the Catholic writers of the next generation, such as O'Sullivan Beare, must be accounted for by national feeling, which made the Irish averse to any form of anglicisation, by the cruel wars of extermination, and by the narrow policy of James I. There was some persecution of the Catholics towards the close of Elizabeth's reign, when a strong impetus was given to Irish rebellion by the Bull of Pius V (1570), which absolved her subjects from their allegiance.[3] The most notable of the martyrs was Dermot O'Hurley, papal Archbishop of Cashel. He had been educated at Louvain, where he was appointed professor of philosophy about 1559. Subsequently, he held the chair of Canon Law at Rheims. He went for a time to Rome, and there he became involved in Irish plots against Elizabeth's government. In 1581 he was appointed by Gregory XIII to the See of Cashel. On the voyage to Ireland his papers were captured by pirates, and in this way the Government was made aware of his movements and plans. After remaining in hiding for some time he was at length arrested. He was known to be in correspondence with the Earl of Desmond, and he admitted that he was "one of the House of Inquisition." As he refused to give information with regard to foreign intrigues against the Government, he was tortured, condemned by martial law, and executed in Dublin on the 21st June, 1584. Several other persons were tortured and executed during this period, but the case of Archbishop Hurley is possibly the worst on record.[4] On the whole the Catholics in Ireland seem to have come off lightly at the hands of the Government as compared with their brethren in England.

On the accession of James I, the clergy of the Established Church urged upon the King the repression and extermination of the popular

[1] *Cal. S.P.I.* (Mar.–Oct., 1600), p. 274. See a draft of a letter from Walsingham to the Archbishop of Armagh (Dec., 1585), pr. in Brady's *State Papers concerning the Irish Church*, pp. 102–3, in which he says: "Touching the refusal of the Oath of Supremacy by the gentlemen of the Pale, which your Lordship thinketh it meet to be punished with severity, the matter hath been considered here. And in respect of their rawness in religion, making the said Oath a matter of conscience, it is thought not convenient they should be brought unto it by compulsion against their conscience, but even with time by instruction and labour of those to whose charge it doth belong. And, indeed, considering our manner of proceedings here, the time is not fit for severity."

[2] *Cal. S.P.I.* (1588–92), p. 494.

[3] See Cardinal Moran's *Hist. of the Cath. Archbs. of Dublin*, ch. iv, and Rothe's *Analecta* (1617), ed. Moran. A list of those belonging to this period whose case for beatification and canonisation is at present under investigation by the Holy See, is given in the *Irish Eccles. Record* (1918), XI. 311–21. See art. on "Irish Confessors and Martyrs," *Catholic Encyclopædia.*

[4] See references given by R. Dunlop in his article on O'Hurley in the *Dict. Nat. Biography.*

religion, and on the 4th July, 1605, a Proclamation was issued in which the King commanded his Irish subjects to go to church, and Jesuits and seminary priests to leave the country.[1] This action led to a protest from the Catholic gentlemen of the Pale, as a result of which several persons were imprisoned. Sir John Davies, the Attorney-General, was under the impression that these penal courses would turn the Irish into Protestants. "The multitude was ever made conformable by edicts and proclamations," he wrote, "and though the corporations in that Realm and certain of the principal gentlemen stood out, and the multitude only by their example, yet if this one corporation of Dublin were reformed, the rest would follow."[2] It was not possible, of course, to convert the Irish to Protestantism in this manner. By the end of Elizabeth's reign the attitude of Ireland to the Holy See had become one of passionate devotion,[3] and the Queen herself realised that her policy had been unsuccessful.[4]

Many Englishmen understood, and some deplored, the causes of the failure of Government policy. Bacon advised that good preachers should be sent over, and that books of instruction should be circulated in the Irish language;[5] and Spenser struck at the root of the matter when he wrote: "Instruction in religion needeth quiet times, and ere we seek to settle a sound discipline in the clergy, we must purchase peace unto the laity. For it is an ill time to preach amongst swords, and most hard, or rather impossible it is to settle a good opinion in the minds of men for matters of religion doubtful, which have a doubtless evil opinion of ourselves."[6]

It should be remembered that Ireland, being remote, was still a mediæval country which had been virtually untouched by the Renaissance, and was therefore unaffected by the social, political, and economic causes which prepared the soil for Lutheranism in England.

The people, always tenacious of old customs, were naturally strongly attached to the Catholic faith. Chapuys, the Imperial ambassador in London, wrote to Charles V in 1534 that the people "feared," "obeyed," and "adored" the friars to such an extent that the Irish lords would even submit to corporal punishment at their hands.[7]

[1] See pp. 143–4.

[2] *Cal. S.P.I.* (1606–8), pp. liv–lxxxvii.

[3] See a report upon Ireland which was sent to the King of Spain, printed in Moran's *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, I. 59–61.

[4] "This great infection of Popery," she wrote to the Earl of Essex, "is so spread over the Kingdom, as it is most true that even in time of peace (and within the English Pale) multitudes of parishes have had neither incumbents nor teachers, and in the very good towns of assembly not only recusancy allowed, but massings and idolatry winked at and tolerated."—*Cal. Car. MSS.*, III. 293.

[5] *Works* (ed. 1730), IV. 505–6.

[6] Spenser, *View*, p. 646. O'Sullivan Beare remarks in his *Historiæ Catholicæ Iberniæ Compendium*, II. iv. c. 25, that Irishmen had very little trust in the doctrines of the English.

[7] *L. and P., Hen. VIII*, VII, No. 957.

The country was an excellent field for the activities of the Counter-Reformation. The first Jesuit mission dispatched by Paul III landed in Ulster in 1542, but owing to the disturbed state of the North it was unsuccessful, and it was not until 1560 that Pius IV commissioned the Jesuit, David Wolfe (a native of Limerick, trained in Rome), to go to Ireland, to form a league for the defence of the Catholic faith, and take suitable measures for the prevention of heresy. Wolfe made no attempt to visit Ulster, but he toured successfully through Munster and Connacht, presumably carrying out the instructions issued to agents of the Holy See in Ireland at this time.[1] In 1566 he fell into the hands of the Government, and was confined in Dublin Castle.[2] He escaped in 1573 and fled to Spain, but returned to Ireland with James Fitzmaurice. He seems to have died at Lisbon about the year 1578.

Many other notable Catholic missioners were active in Ireland at this time. Matthew de Oviedo, a Spanish Franciscan, took a prominent part in the Desmond war, and acted as intermediary between the Irish chieftains and the Spanish Court during Tyrone's rebellion. He ultimately became Papal Archbishop of Dublin.[3] James Archer also played a prominent part in Tyrone's war, and became the first Rector of the Irish College at Salamanca. Henry Fitzsimon, son of a Dublin merchant, educated abroad, returned to Ireland in 1596, and made the Pale his special sphere of action. He gathered together congregations of from four to five hundred persons, and celebrated High Mass in Dublin on Sundays with an orchestra of harps and lutes, being attended by numbers of priests carrying torches. On weekdays, he used to travel into the country, to the houses of gentlemen of the Pale, and reconverted many Protestants amongst them to the Catholic faith. He was arrested in 1599, and imprisoned in Dublin Castle. While in prison, after the fashion of the time, he held disputations with prominent divines, among them being James Usher, afterwards Primate of Ireland.[4]

The Jesuits and other Papal emissaries openly ministered to the people and preached rebellion. They established schools in the southern towns[5] and persuaded the Irish youth to go abroad to be educated in their colleges. The influence of these colleges, described by James I as "seminaries of treason,"[6] completed the failure of the work begun by Henry VIII, for Irishmen educated in a Catholic atmosphere were confirmed in their anti-English prejudices, and returned to Ireland more determined

[1] See pp. 145–6.

[2] A letter of Pius V to his nuncio at Madrid, asking him to procure the liberation of Wolfe, is quoted by Moran, *Hist. of the Cath. Archbs. of Dublin*, p. 80.

[3] See pp. 188–9, 195 *n.* 1, and Moran, *op. cit.* pp. 193–236.

[4] See Hogan, *Life of Fitzsimon*; also pp. 148–50.

[5] See pp. 146–7. [6] *Cal. Car. MSS.*, VI. 291.

than ever upon the realisation of their own nationalism.[1] The fruit of Jesuit labours is seen in the bold and defiant attitude of the towns towards the end of the period,[2] and in the universal growth of anti-Protestant sentiment. Sometimes the Catholic missionaries threatened, or put pressure upon, those Irish chiefs who did not hasten to join the Catholic league,[3] and many were afraid to fight for the Queen for fear of excommunication.[4] Irish sees in remote places were still filled at the end of Elizabeth's reign by bishops appointed in Rome,[5] and even in the Pale itself monasteries had been re-edified in which Mass was publicly celebrated.[6]

Protestant writers naturally condemned what they considered to be the wicked activities of seminarists and Jesuits, especially in so far as these were political, but the poet Spenser favourably contrasted their zeal and energy with the apathy of the Protestant clergy.[7] The policy of persecution enforced by James I materially strengthened Irish fidelity to the Holy See, and Ireland from this time forward became one of the most constant Catholic nations of the West: this fact is intimately connected with the persistent growth of Irish nationalism.

III. THE ELIZABETHAN CONQUEST

During the reign of Edward VI, though the Government was at first in a strong position, the Pale was soon threatened again by the Irish on the borders. There were disturbances in Munster, and on the death of the newly-created Earl of Clanrickarde, there was anarchy in Connacht. The rule of Sir Edward Bellingham, the Deputy, presented a striking contrast to that of St. Leger; he did not attempt to conciliate the Irish chieftains, and engaged in constant warfare. In 1550 St. Leger was reappointed, and as before adopted a pacific policy. He did not approve of the innovations in religion introduced by Edward VI. "If the Lords

[1] See an interesting letter written to Secretary Cecil (9 Dec., 1600), in which the writer, whose name is erased, recommends the dissolution of the Irish College of Douai, where there are many sons of "the principal gentlemen of the Pale . . . besides many merchants' sons of Dublin and Drogheda," on the ground that "Douai has ever been an enemy town, and held for the Spaniard, (and) they that are brought up there must have Spanish hearts." Prayers were daily offered for the "rebel rout" in Ireland, and Irish was spoken. The writer fears that the young gentlemen may become "fermented with the ancient hatred of Irish to English" and "stagger in their allegiance."—*Cal. S.P. Dom.* (1598–1601), p. 496.

[2] *Cal. Car. MSS.*, III. 385; VI. 279–80; Barnaby Rich, *Greenes Newes both from Heaven and Hell* (1593), p. 57, and *New Description of Ireland* (1610), ch. 16. See p. 68.

[3] See a letter written by the Jesuit, Dr. Sanders, to Ulick Burke (1579), *Cal. Car. MSS.*, II. 159.

[4] *Cal. Car. MSS.*, III. 385–6.

[5] *Cal. S.P.I.* (1606–8), pp. 17–18; "Acta Consistorialia" (1559–91), pr. in *Archivium Hibernicum* (1916), V. 167.

[6] *Cal. Car. MSS.*, VI. 279.

[7] See pp. 151–2.

of the Council had letten all things in the order the King's father left them and meddled not to alter religion," he wrote to Cecil in January, 1551, "neither had the rebellion in England, nor all these hurley-burleys happened." [1] The reviving uncertainty of the relations between England and France in the winter of 1551 seemed to make the presence of a stronger hand desirable in Ireland, and St. Leger was again recalled and succeeded by Sir James Crofts. He planted garrisons at Armagh and Carrickfergus in view of the threatening attitude of the Scots, and of the dissensions of Tyrone and his sons, which kept the North in a turmoil.[2] St. Leger returned to Ireland in 1552, but the disturbed state of the country led to the policy of conciliation being definitely changed for one of violence. In 1556 Lord Fitzwalter, later Earl of Sussex, was appointed Deputy, and during the reign of Mary returned to the old system of ineffectual and exasperating raiding. He made a journey into Ulster against the Scots, and also an abortive expedition against the O'Connors, who had risen in the west.[3]

On the accession of Elizabeth, English influence in Ireland was again at a low ebb. The effects of Henry VIII's conciliatory policy had been neutralised by the disputed successions in many Irish districts, which had led to local wars, and there was constant plotting between the chieftains and foreign States.[4] Once Ireland had become definitely Catholic, moreover, and joined herself to the Catholic Powers, she became to England what the Netherlands were to Spain, a vulnerable point where foreign princes who offered to assist the people in shaking off their oppressors were sure of welcome.[5] This made the subjection of the country a matter of such vital importance for English statesmen that it could not safely be ignored. "There may indeed ensue," wrote the Earl of Sussex in 1560, "that which her Majesty of late had just cause to fear, and being now quelled by the good agreement made in Scotland . . . is not unlike, if time serve, hereafter to be revived. The danger is in my sight so fearful, the matter, if it be attempted by foreign power and aided by civil faction so easy to be compassed, and the resisting thereof so difficult, as I am forced by duty to give advice that it should in time be prevented, not so much for the care I have of Ireland, which I have often wished to be sunk in the sea, as for that if the French should set foot therein, they should not only have such an entry into Scotland as her Majesty could not resist, but also by the commodity of the havens here and Calais now in their possession, they should take utterly from England all

[1] Wilson, *Begs. Mod. Ireland*, p. 325. [2] *Cal. Car. MSS.*, I. 244.

[3] For a general account of the reigns of Edward VI and Mary, see Richey, *Short History*, chs. 15–16; Bagwell, *Ireland under Tudors*, I., chs. 16–18.

[4] See P. Wilson, *op. cit.*; J. Hogan, *Ireland in the European System* (1550–7).

[5] Froude, *Hist. of England*, X. 476.

kind of peaceable traffic by sea, whereby would ensue such a ruin to England as I am afeared to think on." [1]

The civil policy of the Queen was at first merely an expansion of that adopted by Henry VIII. In 1570, by the 12 Eliz. c. 4, chieftains might surrender their lands, receiving them back to be held by patents under the Crown, to descend in hereditary succession according to the laws of England.[2] A number of compositions were also arranged for, by which they were released from the obligation of an uncertain cess, and in return were to pay a quit rent to the Queen.[3] Other terms of the compositions introduced a new element into English statesmanship. Henry VIII had dealt solely with the relation of the Crown to the heads of clans, ignoring their claims over their vassals, together with the rights of the minor tribesmen. The chiefs were now invited to abandon their Irish titles and the right to exact their old customary dues from their tenants.[4] In lieu of these, they were to be confirmed in the fixed possessions of their lands, and to receive money rents. All were to hold direct from the Queen, all were to become subject to English law, and there was to be one people under the Crown. Though a fixed revenue was the immediate object of the Government, the whole policy had a deeper significance. The power of the chieftains over their vassals, who paid them tributes in kind and military service, had made them independent princes with large retinues at their command, through whom they menaced their neighbours and the peace of the country.[5] It was intended now to place a permanent check upon their influence.[6] By delivering

[1] *Cal. Car. MSS.*, I. 302.

[2] See W. F. Butler, "The Policy of Surrender and Regrant," *Journ. Roy. Soc. Antiquaries Irel.* (1913), XLIII. See pp. 161–2.

[3] Notably the "Composition of Connacht" (1585), for which see the indentures printed in O'Flaherty's "Description of West or H-Iar Connacht" (1684) (ed. Hardiman), *Ir. Arch. Soc.* (1846).

[4] The chief tax imposed by a chief upon his tenants was "bonaght," the quartering of soldiers. For an economic justification of this practice, in view of the undeveloped state of the country, see Bonn, *op. cit.* I. 197. See also pp. 60, 326 *n.* 1, 327–30.

[5] "The continuance of these and other Irish exactions is the very root and foundation of the rebellions which have been from time to time in that country, both for that it giveth a mean to the lord to maintain so many idle persons in arms to attempt any villainy at his command, and also for that it draweth the obedience of the subject from his prince unto the captain, and maketh the common sort to stand in awe or know no other superiors than their Irish captains which thus exact upon them."—Dymmok, "A Treatise of Ireland" (1600), *Ir. Arch. Soc. Tracts* (1842), p. 9.

[6] "The plot of this composition (Connacht) was devised by Sir Richard (Bingham) of purpose to take away the greatness of the Irish lords . . . that the inferior subject might be freed from their Irish customs, cuttings and unreasonable exactions, and by knowing what was their own, to be drawn to depend ever after upon the State, and not on those Irish lords or gentlemen: which also might not only much avail her Majesty in time of any stirs or revolts, by drawing the common people from following the great chief lords, but also bring a more certainer yearly rent, or revenue into her Majesty's coffers than formerly was accustomed."—Docwra, "Relation of Service done in Ireland," *Miscellany Celtic Soc.* (1849), pp. 190–1.

the "poor flies" from the "webs and oppression of the great spiders" moreover, it was hoped that all would become loyal subjects.[1] The "mean freeholder" (the name given to the minor tribesman in the indentures) was for his part content with the terms of the compositions. He "began to grow rich and challenge to himself a more particular property in his own goods, and enjoy the fruit of his labour more freely than at any other time he could ever do or attain unto."[2] "They paid with very good will," explained the Lord Deputy, Sir John Perrot, to Walsingham, "because they are come to a certainty . . . every man knowing what is his, and depending now upon the law, and not upon one another."[3] The chiefs, however, soon began to repent of their bargain, and came to regard their rent as a "tribute"[4] when they found once more that English sanctions weakened their power over the tribesmen.[5] They were primarily military rulers, and as such disliked the admittance of the sheriffs into their countries, and the administration of English law.[6] The hostility of the chiefs, combined with the fact that the Government was not in a position to enforce its arrangements, led to the breakdown of the whole policy, and the Gaelic customs and ideas of government were soon replaced.[7] The Government, as before, had gained an advantage. They had now a legal right to confiscate the estates of rebels who had entered voluntarily into these agreements, and this was the policy subsequently pursued.[8]

The division of Ireland into counties was commenced by King John, but up to Henry VIII's time English law was generally inoperative beyond the shires of the Pale.[9] The Act, 11 Eliz. c. 9, provided that all counties not yet shire ground should be converted into such, and the serious establishment of county administration was begun under Sir Henry Sydney.[10] In

[1] *Cal. S.P.I.* (1574–85), p. xxxvii.

[2] *Cal. S.P.I.* (1586–8), p. 199.

[3] See p. 164.

[4] *Annals of Loch Cé*, II. 467.

[5] *Cal. S.P.I.* (1588–92), p. 267.

[6] The Burkes rose in Connacht saying that they would have a MacWilliam, or else they would go into Spain for one; and that they would have no sheriff, nor answer at any assize or sessions.—*Cal. Car. MSS.*, II. 431. The Irish declared, moreover, that the terms of the composition were violated by the exactions of sheriffs and soldiers, and this charge is fairly well substantiated by the evidence of English officials.—*Cal. S.P.I.* (1586–8), pp. 68, 98; (1588–92), pp. 173, 506.

[7] The lords of Connacht continued to levy payments in kind even in the seventeenth century. See Bonn, *op. cit.* I. 261–2.

[8] The Irish point of view is clearly expressed by O'Sullivan Beare. "All were required," he says, "to produce the patents under which they held their properties, so that means might be found of despoiling them of their goods. This might easily be done as most of the Irish had no patents and did not require them since they were owners of their countries before the time of the English rule."—*Historiæ Catholicæ Iberniæ Compendium* (1621), II. iv. c. 29.

[9] Davies, *Discovery*, 236–7.

[10] Henry VIII had divided Meath into two counties, and King's and Queen's Counties were established under Philip and Mary. See pp. 48, 232–4.

1565 he erected Annaly into a county under the name of Longford, and in 1579 Connacht was divided into four shires, in each of which the principal towns were fortified and sheriffs installed. Ulster was the last of the Irish districts to be reduced to shire ground, and here as elsewhere the English authority was for a long time only nominal. It was not till James I's reign that county administration became really effective throughout Ireland.[1]

The government of the remote parts of the country, where the Deputy's rule was powerless, had always been an acute problem. It was decided, finally, in 1569–70, to appoint Presidents for Munster and Connacht, who should be answerable to the Lord Deputy, and who should be assisted by a Council, a Chief Justice, a Treasurer and other officials. The powers of these provincial governors, which were both executive and administrative, seem to have been rather ill-defined,[2] and the value of the office varied with the character of the holder. Some Lord Presidents, such as Sir John Perrot in Munster, managed to repress disorder and enforce the English laws,[3] others, as for instance Sir Richard Bingham in Connacht, ruled with quite unnatural severity and goaded the people into rebellion.[4] The main cause of the risings which led to the Elizabethan conquest, setting aside the clash of feudal and tribal ideas on the land question already referred to, was the dynastic ambitions of the chieftains, who shook off their allegiance whenever they saw an opportunity of increasing their powers over their own territories, or procuring some advantage for themselves. Religious feeling, accentuated by the activities of the Counter-Reformation, played an important part with the great mass of the people ; [5] it is somewhat difficult to determine how far the religious enthusiasm of the chieftains was genuine, and how far the claims of Irish Catholics, as set forth by them, were put forward to gain foreign support.

[1] See Preface to *Cal. S.P.I.* (1606–8) ; C. L. Falkiner, "The Counties of Ireland," *Illustrns. Irish History*, ch. 5 ; Lane-Poole's *Hist. Atlas*, Plate xxxi.

[2] The duties of such an officer are laid down by the Earl of Sussex in a statement as to the way, in his opinion, in which Ulster should be reduced (1562), *Cal. Car. MSS.*, I. 330–4. The Instructions to Sir George Carew as President of Munster (1599) are given in Stafford's *Pacata Hibernia* (ed. O'Grady), I. ch. 1. See Prefaces to *Cal. S.P.I.* (1606–8) (1608–10). For a full list of Presidents, see Lascelles, *Liber Munerum Publicorum Hiberniæ*, I. ii. 184, 189. Both Presidencies were abolished in 1672. See pp. 164–6.

[3] The Ordinances proclaimed at Limerick by Sir John Perrot in 1571 are probably a fair sample of presidential legislation. See pp. 166–7.

[4] The departure of Sir John Perrot from Munster was "lamented by the poor, the feeble, and the unwarlike of the country."—*Four Masters*, V. 1665. For a general account of Bingham's cruelties in Connacht, see Docwra's "Relation," *Misc. Celtic Soc.* (1849).

[5] James Fitzgerald, "the Queen's Earl of Desmond," for example, who was brought up in England, returned to Ireland with the sanction of the Government in 1600, and was received with enthusiasm as the head of his house, by the common people of Munster, until they discovered that he was a Protestant.

The two greatest risings of the period were those of the Earl of Desmond in Munster and that of the O'Neills in Ulster. The Desmonds resented the support given by the Government to their hereditary enemies the Earls of Ormonde, and they doubtless feared the suggested establishment of presidential government in Munster as an encroachment upon their Palatine powers.[1] The first rising was led by James Fitzmaurice, cousin of the fifteenth Earl of Desmond. He sent an agent in the spring of 1569 both to the Court of Spain and to the Vatican, offering to adopt any Catholic prince of the royal house of Spain or Burgundy whom Philip might appoint. He collected a force and harried the country, and in the spring of 1570 plundered Kilmallock, then held by an English garrison, and burnt the town. A vigorous campaign was undertaken by Sir John Perrot against him, and as no aid came from abroad, a truce was signed in February, 1573. Two years later, Fitzmaurice escaped to the Continent, where, by professing the fidelity of Ireland to the Holy See, he gained the sympathy of Gregory XIII. The Pope sanctioned an expedition under the command of Thomas Stukely, self-styled "Duke of Ireland," an ex-pirate, and one of the most extraordinary of the many adventurers who played a part in Irish politics during this period.[2] Stukely's expedition left Civita Vecchia early in 1578, but it was diverted to Morocco, and never reached its original destination. Fitzmaurice, however, collected an army, and accompanied by the celebrated English Jesuit, Dr. Nicholas Sanders, landed in Kerry in July, 1579, issuing a Proclamation in which he declared that "this war is undertaken for the defence of the Catholic faith against the heretics."[3] Fitzmaurice was shortly afterwards killed in a skirmish by a sept of the Burkes, who were loyal to the Queen, and the Earl of Desmond (who had been imprisoned as the result of a quarrel with the Earl of Ormonde and released in 1573) then took the field. He sacked Youghal and advanced upon Cork. He was proclaimed a traitor in November, 1579. Meanwhile James Eustace, Viscount Baltinglas, whose father had been in opposition to the Crown on the question of the cess, an arbitrary tax imposed on the Pale, led the malcontents of that region, and inflicted a severe defeat upon the Deputy in the Wicklow mountains.[4] Soon after, a mixed force of Italians and

[1] "This Country (Kerry) was a Palatinate to the Earl of Desmond, the liberties and royalties whereof (he being a man of small discretion), caused him to grow insolent above measure, forbidding the Lord President and Council of the province to have any dealings in his jurisdiction, which was the very original ground and cause of his rebellion and overthrow."—Dymmok, *A Treatise of Ireland*, p. 18. Davies, *Discovery*, pp. 207–10; *Cal. Car. MSS.*, II. 342–3.

[2] *Cal. S.P. Dom.* (1566–79), p. 543; *Cal. S.P. Foreign* (1569–71), pp. 394, 422–3; *Cal. S.P. Rome* (1558–71), pp. 379–85, 387–91; and see the Index of *Cal. S.P. Spanish* (1568–79).

[3] See p. 169.

[4] About this time the Jesuits, Parsons and Campion, landed in England, and there

Spaniards landed in Kerry, and entrenched themselves at Smerwick. The English, under Sir William Pelham and the Earl of Ormonde, had harried the whole of Munster in a series of horrible campaigns ; [1] they now, under the Deputy Lord Grey de Wilton and Admiral Winter, attacked the fort by land and sea, and when the garrison surrendered six hundred of them were put to death (10 Nov., 1580).[2] The capture of Smerwick broke the rebellion ; the rebels were reduced to famine and hunted in the mountains, and the Earl of Desmond, after many hairbreadth escapes, was taken by a party of hostile Irish in a wood and put to death (11 Nov., 1583).[3] The desolation of Munster after the wars has been described by Edmund Spenser in a well-known passage.[4] The way was now prepared for the confiscation of the Desmond estates and for the Plantation of Munster.

The great rebellion of the O'Neills in Ulster, the strongest and most Irish part of Ireland, was by far the most serious with which the Government had to deal. The first trouble arose from the confusion between English and Irish ideas concerning the succession to the earldom which resulted from Henry VIII's bargain with Con O'Neill ; but as time went on Ulster became the focus of the whole Irish national resistance, and Hugh O'Neill, who had national[5] as well as strong dynastic ambitions, gained the active support of Spain, and waged a war in the name of the Catholic Church which taxed the strength of Elizabeth to a very considerable extent, and threatened the existence of English power in Ireland for many years.

The succession to the lands of the O'Neill, which comprised the whole of the modern counties of Armagh and Tyrone and part of Londonderry, had been secured by Henry VIII's arrangement to Matthew, Baron of Dungannon, who had been put forward by Con as the legitimate heir to the earldom ; [6] but Shane, another son of Con, was preferred by his clan, and he received the title of O'Neill by the election of his people. Elizabeth, being at war with Scotland, and handicapped by lack of funds, at first took little action against him, and in 1562 he paid a visit to her Court[7]

were rumours of a Papal invasion. Baltinglas probably expected outside aid. "The expectation of foreign forces makes them all stand upon their tip toes."—Sir N. Malby to the Earl of Leicester (17 Aug., 1580), *Cal. Car. MSS.*, II. 298. See p. 169 *n.* 1.

[1] Lord Justice Pelham to the Queen (12 Aug., 1580), *Cal. Car. MSS.*, II. 293.

[2] The treatment meted out to prisoners of war in the sixteenth century was often harsh, see *Cal. S.P.I.* (1574–85), p. lxxviii. For an account of this siege, see Lord Grey's letter to the Queen (12 Nov., 1580), *Cal. S.P.I.*, p. lxix, and Hooker in Holinshed (ed. 1808), VI. 437–9.

[3] A full account of the Desmond rising is given by Camden in his "Annals," pr. and tr. in White Kennet's *Complete History of England* (1706). Thos. Churchyard in *A Scourge for Rebels* (1584) gives an eye-witness's account of the death of the Earl.

[4] See p. 171.

[5] See pp. 182–3.

[6] *Cal. Pat. Rolls* (ed. Morrin), I. 85.

[7] See pp. 171–2.

and made a formal submission. He explained his right to the chieftainship by Irish law, and promised service against the Scots of the Hebrides, who had settled recently in north-east Ulster.[1] Shortly after his return to Ireland, however, although he did some useful service against them, he intrigued with the Courts of Scotland and France,[2] and became actively hostile to the Crown, ravaging the Pale right up to the gates of Dublin. He declared that his ancestors were Kings of Ulster and that Ulster was his; he had won all by the sword, and so would keep it.[3] His rule in his own country, as that of the only strong man in Ireland, won praise even from an English historian;[4] but his instincts were merely tribal,[5] for instead of forming an alliance with the northern chiefs, he tried to crush them, and turned against the Scots, his former allies. He finally was defeated by the joint action of Sir Henry Sydney[6] and the O'Donnells, and murdered in the camp of the Scots with whom he had taken refuge (1567). By the Act of Attainder of Shane O'Neill (11 Eliz. c. 1), the name of O'Neill was abolished, and the Queen was declared entitled to the whole of Ulster.

On Shane's death, his cousin Tirlough, as tanist, succeeded to the chieftainship, but he was soon superseded by a stronger man, namely, by Hugh, the late Baron of Dungannon's younger son. Hugh O'Neill had been educated in England, and during the Desmond rebellion he had served in Munster against the Irish. Though at first he posed as a loyalist, and at his own request, despite Shane's attainder, was admitted Earl of Tyrone, he soon threw off his allegiance, invaded Cavan and Louth, and joined Hugh O'Donnell,[7] who proceeded to justify the old suzerainty of his clan in Connacht and ravaged the country. In June, 1595, Tyrone was formally declared a traitor.[8] Although his country was systematically invaded, he always avoided a definite engagement, for he was in constant negotiation with Philip of Spain, from whom

[1] For the terms of his submission, see *Cal. Car. MSS.*, I. 312.

[2] See pp. 172–3.

[3] *Cal. S.P.I.* (1509–73), pp. 289, 312. "He pretended to be King of Ulster, even as he said his ancestors were, and affecting the manner of the Great Turk, was continually guarded with 600 armed men, as it were his Janissaries about him, and had in readiness to bring into the field 1,000 horsemen, and 4,000 footmen."—Hooker in Holinshed, VI. 331.

[4] See p. 173.

[5] His grievances, unlike those of his successor, Hugh O'Neill, were merely personal, and show no national or religious sentiment. See *Cal. Car. MSS.* I. 366.

[6] Sydney's "Summary Relation of all his Services in Ireland" (1583), *Cal. Car. MSS.*, II. 335.

[7] The young Hugh Roe O'Donnell had been captured by the Government as a pledge for his father's loyalty in 1587. After several years' imprisonment he escaped and threw in his lot with Tyrone. See pp. 176–180.

[8] See p. 175.

he hoped for assistance, and though many advances were made to him by the Government, Tyrone did not for this reason apparently consider any of them seriously.[1] In the summer of 1598 he collected a large force,[2] and on the 14th August inflicted a terrible defeat on the English under Marshal Bagnal near Armagh. At the Battle of the Yellow Ford the Marshal was killed, together with at least thirteen English officers and 1,500 soldiers.[3] This was the greatest defeat the English had ever sustained in Ireland. The Council in Dublin were panic-stricken, and wrote to Tyrone asking him to spare the remnant of the army.[4] "The general voice was of Tyrone among the English after the defeat of Blackwater," says Fynes Moryson, "as of Hannibal among the Romans after the defeat of Cannæ."[5] He did not march on Dublin, however, for he was unable to keep his allies together, and the Irish did not reap the full fruits of their victory. Tyrone had for some time past been "stirring coals" in Munster, where the plantation was very unpopular and religious feeling ran high.[6] A widespread confederation had been formed, and a serious rebellion now broke out in the South. There was a general attack on the Pale, a nephew of the late Earl was proclaimed Earl of Desmond, the Munster settlers fled from their homes, and the Burkes rose again in Connacht. Elizabeth, realising that the situation was now serious, sent over an army of 18,000 men, many of them seasoned troops from the Low Countries, under the command of the notable Earl of Essex.[7] Essex landed in Dublin on the 15th April, 1599. His expedition was a failure. Instead of attacking the leader of the rebellion, he marched south, and wasted time in discussion with

[1] The terms of peace offered on both sides (see pp. 181–3) show that the main points at issue were: the application of county administration to Ulster, and Tyrone's jurisdiction over his vassals. The English gave the Irish plea for religious toleration a political significance in view of the intrigues of the chieftains with the Catholic Powers. Religion is "a cloak that serves too much in these days to cover many evil intentions."—Proclamation of James I concerning the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel (15 Nov., 1607), quoted by Meehan, *Fate and Fortunes of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel*, pp. 112–4.

[2] Tyrone's force comprised 3,540 foot and 1,043 horse, and slightly outnumbered that of the English. He had trained his men in English tactics and provided them with muskets and pikes: he had no heavy artillery, however.—*Cal. Car. MSS.*, III. 287; *Cal. S.P.I.* (Oct., 1596), p. 151; *Cal. S.P.I.* (1598–9), pp. lxxvi–lxxvii.

[3] The accounts of the losses in this battle are conflicting. O'Sullivan Beare says that more than 2,500 royalists perished. Camden says 1,500 men were killed. Probably the Earl of Ormonde's list of the slain, sent to Sir Robert Cecil, 24th Aug., is the nearest approach to the true state of the case. He gives 15 captains, 8 lieutenants, 4 ensigns, 855 men as killed, and adds that 363 men were wounded, and 10 colours were lost.—*Cal. S.P.I.* (1598), p. 244.

[4] Letter of the Lords Justices to Tyrone (16 Aug., 1598), *Cal. S.P.I.*, pp. 228–9.

[5] *Itinerary*, II. 274. See p. 197 *n.* 3.

[6] *Cal. Car. MSS.*, III. 273. *Pacata Hibernia*, I. 220–1.

[7] Camden says that Essex had an army assigned to him "as large as he could wish for, and such a one as Ireland had not seen before, consisting of 16,000 foot and 1,300 horse, and it was afterwards made up to 20,000."—White Kennet, *Complete Hist. of England* (1706), II. 613–14.

the Council in Dublin.[1] In a famous interview with Tyrone,[2] at which no one else was present, he patched up a truce by which he incurred suspicion at Court, and he hurried back to England only to find that his career was ruined.

Elizabeth now selected Sir Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy,[3] to lead her forces, and under this capable commander the Nine Years' War with Tyrone was brought to an end. The advantage of castle building in Ireland had always been realised, and Mountjoy's plan of campaign was to plant the country with garrisons, with a view to suppressing sudden risings, and compelling chieftains to stay at home to protect their own territories.[4] The corn in rebellious districts was systematically destroyed, and when the people were reduced to famine they had to submit.[5]

Although Philip III had sent letters and presents to the chieftains, and more practical help in money and arms,[6] the Irish had almost begun to despair of foreign aid when a Spanish expedition, numbering about 5,000 men, under Don Juan del Aquila, landed at Kinsale in September, 1601.[7] Mountjoy at once took the field, and the English surrounded the town by land and sea. O'Neill, O'Donnell, and the other northern chieftains marched south, and though they arrived too late to give effective aid to the Spaniards, surrounded the English army which was besieging the town.[8] The Irish were determined to attack on the night of the 24th December, but their plan was betrayed by one of their own chieftains, and they were defeated with great loss by Mountjoy's forces on the following day.[9] Del Aquila, disgusted with the defeat of his allies, had to capitulate, perhaps not unwillingly, for he parted on

[1] "He attempted not the head of the rebellion, according to his own advice in England, and the Queen's express command, but was induced by some of the Council . . . aiming at their own private interest, more than the public good, to lead his forces against some few rebels in Munster."—Fynes Moryson, *op. cit.* II. 236.

[2] See *Cal. Car. MSS.*, III. 323–5; *Cal. S.P.I.* (1599–1600), pp. 144–7. Also pp. 188–9.

[3] Charles Blount, later Earl of Devonshire and eighth Baron Mountjoy, served in the Netherlands, in pursuit of the Armada, and in Brittany, 1586–93. He became Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1601, and was styled Lord Lieutenant in 1603. He returned to England the same year. See pp. 199–203.

[4] The garrison at Lough Foyle, for example, was intended to be as "an iron hook" in the nostrils of Tyrone, "to hold him hard and entangle him at home," while Leinster and Munster were being recovered.—*Cal. S.P.I.* (1599–1600), p. 401. See also *Cal. S.P.I.* (1600–1), p. 383. Fynes Moryson, *op cit.* II. 393–4; III. 152–60.

[5] For an account of the destruction of Irish corn in Leix, see pp. 237–8.

[6] *Cal. S.P.I.* (Mar.–Oct., 1600), p. 239. Also p. 189.

[7] Sir George Carew had predicted that the Spaniards would land in Munster, which the Irish held to be the key of the kingdom, for the people here were "Spanish in heart, Popish in religion, and infinitely discontented since the traitors' lands were divided among the undertakers."—*Cal. Car. MSS.*, III. 129. For Del Aquila's proclamation on landing, see pp. 193–5.

[8] Mountjoy's forces comprised about 8,000 men. O'Neill commanded 3,800 foot and 700 horse, but of these only 1,500 foot and 160 horse were his own men.—*Cal. S.P.I.* (1601–3), pp. xiv–xxiv.

[9] They lost over 1,000 men.—*Cal. Car. MSS.*, IV. 194.

friendly terms with the Lord President, presenting him with a book upon fortification as a keepsake.[1] O'Donnell fled to Spain, while O'Neill, with greatly diminished forces, returned to Ulster. The significance of this great defeat as a turning-point in Anglo-Irish history was realised by all contemporaries. It put an end for ever to Spanish ambitions in Ireland, and was to prove the death-blow of the old Gaelic system.[2]

Sir Henry Docwra, by the establishment of a fort on the shores of Lough Foyle, cut Tyrone off from the sea,[3] while Mountjoy harried his country from the south. For some time he lay in hiding in the great forest of Glenconkein,[4] and when he could hold out no longer submitted to Mountjoy at Mellifont (30th March, 1603).[5] Sir George Carew had meanwhile been acting in the south-west; he won over many of the chieftains by skilful diplomacy, and all resistance was crushed.[6] Tyrone agreed to hold his earldom as an English subject, but with the introduction of English law into his country, his power over his vassals was gone, and he who had declared that he would rather be O'Neill of Ulster than Philip of Spain,[7] decided to escape from an impossible situation, and left Ulster in September, 1607, in company with Rory O'Donnell, both never to return.[8] The "Flight of the Earls" completed the Tudor conquest of Ireland, which had begun with the suppression of the Earls of Kildare in Henry VIII's time; it cleared the way for the effective introduction of English law and for the plantation in Ulster. A general pardon for the Irish had been proclaimed,[9] assizes were now held throughout the country, the Irish customs were condemned by a series of judicial

[1] For the articles of composition between the Lord Deputy and Council and Don Juan, see *Cal. Car. MSS.*, IV. 199–200.

[2] For a full account of the siege, see Preface, *Cal. S.P.I.* (1601–3). The best contemporary English accounts are those given by Fynes Moryson and in the *Pacata Hibernia* (see p. 193 *n.* 2), which contains a plan. For the movements of the Irish, see The *Four Masters*, and O'Sullivan Beare.

[3] See Docwra's "Narration of the Services done by the Army employed to Lough Foyle," *Misc. Celtic Soc.* (1849).

[4] *Cal. Car. MSS.*, IV. 286–7.

[5] See pp. 197–8.

[6] The *Pacata Hibernia* is the best authority for the war in Munster during this period. For Carew's methods, see *Cal. Car. MSS.*, III. 428. Accounts of the famous siege of Dunboy, which followed the Battle of Kinsale, and of the heroic retreat of O'Sullivan Beare will be found in *Pac. Hib.*, II. 283, and the *Hist. Cath.* III. vii. chs. 8–12.

[7] E. C. S., *Government of Ireland under Sir John Perrot* (1628), pp. 91–2.

[8] The immediate causes of the flight of the Earls are rather obscure. See Preface, *Cal. S.P.I.* (1608–10), and Bagwell, *Ireland under the Stuarts*, I. ch. 3. The Earls were received on the Continent, not as a "company of gypsies," as Sir John Davies had predicted (*Cal. S.P.I.* (1607), p. 273), but with marked respect. They embodied their grievances in separate memorials to James I, and the King issued a proclamation against them as a justification of his policy (15 Nov., 1607). See Meehan, *Fate and Fortunes of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel.* See pp. 203–8.

[9] See p. 208.

decisions,[1] and all were taken by proclamation under the protection of English law. "The clock of the Civil Government," wrote Sir John Davies, "is now well set, and all the wheels thereof do move in order. The strings of this Irish harp, which the Civil Magistrate doth finger, are all in tune and make a good harmony in this common weal: so as we may well conceive a hope, that Ireland (which heretofore might properly be called the land of Ire, because the irascible power was predominant there for the space of 400 years together) will from henceforth prove a land of peace and concord." [2]

The towns of the South, however, were now hostile, and broke into open rebellion. The revolts were quelled, by the promptness of Mountjoy,[3] and soon afterwards James I curtailed their commercial privileges.[4]

The Irish problem was only one of many with which Elizabeth had to deal, and so the war in Ireland was a protracted one, especially as it was carried on under tremendous difficulties. Want of money had hampered operations throughout; the soldiers' wages being often in arrears, they were always on the brink of mutiny.[5] Insufficiently clothed and fed, they preyed upon the people, and became a terror to the country.[6] The organisation of the army was faulty; there were corruptions in the musters,[7] and many were the abuses practised by the victuallers.[8] The Irish service was not popular, it was "well known to be the most miserable war for travail, toil and famine in the world," [9] and a proverb was current in Cheshire that it was better to be hanged at home than die like dogs in Ireland.[10] The dampness of the climate, and prolonged warfare in an open country devoid of villages or towns, told much upon the health of the troops. "Ireland," wrote the Venetian Ambassador at Paris to his Government, "may well be called the Englishman's grave." [11] A large part of the Queen's army (Fynes Moryson says at least one-third) [12] was composed of Irish; [13] these

[1] See *A Report of Cases and Matters in Law Resolved and Adjudged in the King's Courts in Ireland*, collected by Sir John Davies, tr. Dublin (1762).

[2] *Discovery*, p. 284. See p. 210 *n.* 1.

[3] *Cal. S.P.I.* (1606–8), p. xliv; Fynes Moryson, *op. cit.* III., 312–29.

[4] See p. 68.

[5] For an account of a mutiny in Dublin in 1590, see *Cal. Car. MSS.*, III. 36.

[6] *Cal. Car. MSS.*, III. 260–5; *Cal. S.P.I.* (1598–9), p. 208.

[7] Names of dead men were often kept on the muster rolls and their pay demanded in England.—*Cal. S.P.I.* (1596–7), pp. lix–lx.

[8] Fynes Moryson, *op. cit.* III. 142, 186–7, 217–21, 243.

[9] "The Humble Requests of the Captains of Ireland" (18 May, 1598), *Cal. S.P.I.* p. 147.

[10] *Cal. S.P.I.* (1592–6), p. 489. For a general account of the army in Ireland, see *Cal. S.P.I.* (1574–85), pp. lxv–lxvii; (1598–9) pp. lxvii–lxxviii. See also pp. 212–16.

[11] *Cal. S.P. Venetian* (Aug. 1599), p. 373.

[12] *Itinerary*, III. 40.

[13] *Cal. S.P.I.* (1596–7), pp. lvii, 179, 249, 429; *Cal. Car. MSS.*, IV. 9.

were to be preferred to inferior pressed troops from England,[1] but they naturally could not always be relied on ; they often deserted to the enemy with their arms, or ran away in action.[2] Another difficulty was the peculiar nature of the Irish warfare. As in the days of the first conquest, the people could seldom be brought to face a decisive engagement, but lay ambushed at the entrance to a pass or on the edge of a wood, and disappeared with great celerity over the mountains and bogs as soon as strong forces were brought against them.[3]

The Scots from the Hebrides played a constant and important part in the Irish Wars. Under pressure from their neighbours in Scotland, the MacDonnells of the Isles had immigrated in Henry VIII's reign into the Glynnes (glens) of Antrim ; they acted as mercenaries to the Irish chieftains,[4] and took part in fighting even in the West. The Government was always anxious to dislodge these vigorous clansmen, and carried on continuous warfare against them both on land and sea. Finally the MacDonnells made a formal submission to the Crown, their presence in the North was recognised officially, and Antrim and Down virtually became a Scottish colony.[5]

None of the more important of the English officials relished the task which they had before them in the reduction of the country ; most of them were hampered by the parsimony or suspicion of the Queen, by the intrigues of Court favourites,[6] or by the jealousy of their colleagues in Dublin ; all were somewhat mystified by the customs of a country which was still largely mediæval, and by the nature of the people with which they had to deal. Perrot speaks of Ireland as "the greatest prison in the world."[7] Carew was "in love neither with the people nor the climate," and wrote to Mountjoy that he hated the destiny which held him in the country.[8] Mountjoy informed Cecil that he "coveted no mortal fortune more" than "to be fairly rid of the part" he played "on so dangerous a stage."[9]

There never was any doubt, however, as to the final outcome of the contest. Despite the formidable resistance organised by the political and military genius of Hugh O'Neill, perhaps the greatest national leader in Irish history, the minor chieftains were too often divided amongst themselves, or impelled by purely dynastic interests. As a rule they seemed incapable of combination, except

[1] Many of these had been taken straight from prison or were mere boys.—*Cal. S.P.I.* (1599–1600), p. 474.
[2] *Cal. S.P.I.* (1586–8), pp. 176–7.
[3] See pp. 218–20.
[4] See Marshal Bagnal's "Desc. of Ulster" (1586), p. 265 ; *Cal. Car. MSS.*, II. 438.
[5] See pp. 56–7, 298–301.
[6] *Cal. Car. MSS.*, III. 441.
[7] *Cal. Car. MSS.*, I. xxiv.
[8] *Cal. Car. MSS.*, IV. 103, 137.
[9] Fynes Moryson, *op. cit.* III. 121.

when overawed for a short time by the vigorous personality of O'Neill, and cannot be said to have had any national vision, as they were often quite ready to negotiate with the Government in their own interest, or to acknowledge a foreign suzerainty as long as their rights over their own countries were guaranteed. The Irish, moreover, had practically no heavy artillery, and rarely attempted sieges.[1] The loyalty of the towns during the greater part of the period was of the greatest advantage to the Government, but it was English naval power which proved the decisive factor. England, by her command of the sea, could checkmate all foreign attempts at invasion, victual her forces and garrisons, and secure a perpetual supply of munitions and reinforcements. Had the ultimate issue been less certain, a still greater military effort might have been made on the part of the Government. Ireland would have been spared the horrors of a protracted conquest which, though it secured peace for a generation, increased the difficulties of English rule by the bitter feelings it engendered amongst the Irish people.[2]

IV. THE TUDOR PLANTATIONS AND THE COLONISATION OF ULSTER

The earliest of the Tudor settlements in Ireland were in the district known as Leix and Offaly, which lay on the borders of the English Pale.[3] Both territories were originally occupied by Normans, but had been resumed by the Irish in the fourteenth century.[4] At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Leix, the south-east portion of the modern Queen's County, was dominated by the clan of the O'Mores, while Offaly, which corresponded roughly to the present King's County, was held by the O'Connors and their subordinate clans. Both these tribes had always been hostile to the English, and were a constant menace to the settlers of the Pale, for when they were not actually plundering cattle and farms, they extorted heavy "black rents" or tribute from the Government in return for immunity from attack. On one occasion,

[1] O'Sullivan Beare says that the less powerful chiefs joined the English in the hopes of gaining the chieftainship of their clans should the existing chiefs be removed. He remarks that the Irish were conquered, not so much by the foreigner, as by one another. —*Historiæ Catholicæ, Comp.* III. i. ch. 5. See also *Cal. Car. MSS.*, IV. 300; Fynes Moryson, *op. cit.* II. 241, 447, and pp. 186–7.

[2] For a short account of the effect of the war upon the state of the country, see pp. 198–9.

[3] For a general account of the plantation, see R. Dunlop, "The Plantation of Leix and Offaly," *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, VI. 61–96; W. F. Butler, *Confiscation in Irish History*, ch. i; P. Wilson *op. cit.* ch. vii; M. J. Bonn, *Die engl. Kolonisn. in Irland*, I. 280–7.

[4] For the early history of these districts, see H. Hore in the *Journ. Roy. Soc. Antiqs. Irel.* (1856), IV. 229, and O'Hanlon and O'Leary's *History of the Queen's County*. For a map of the plantations and settlements under Elizabeth and James I, see Lane-Poole's *Hist. Atlas*, Plate xxxi.

when this tribute was withheld, Brian O'Connor actually took prisoner the Vice-Deputy, Lord Delvin, and would not release him until a ransom had been paid.[1] When the O'Connors declared themselves the allies of the Geraldines, and took an active part in the rebellion of "Silken Thomas," the Government determined to crush them. In 1537 a great hosting was made against Brian O'Connor, and Lord Leonard Grey captured his main stronghold, the great castle of Dengen. In 1548 O'More and O'Connor were forced to submission, and both princes were sent to the Tower.[2]

About this time the Government began to realise that a permanent military occupation of Ireland was necessary to maintain the English foothold.[3] As the expense of this project would have been far beyond the resources of the Crown, the plan was formed of garrisoning certain of the more troublesome districts and of parcelling out the rest of the land to English settlers. The latter might anglicise the people and secure their loyalty by converting them to Protestantism. It would be to their interest, in any case, to protect their own property and to maintain order. The Crown through this arrangement would secure a two-fold benefit; it would be relieved of military expenditure and would receive a revenue in rents.[4] On the suppression of the Geraldine rising, the districts of Leix and Offaly, which lay subdued, offered a fair and desirable field for experiment in view of their dangerous proximity to the Pale. In 1556, after a period of difficulty and discussion, the Earl of Sussex, as he afterwards became, was authorised to make a plantation,[5] and by an Act passed in 1556 (3 & 4 Philip and Mary, cc. 1, 2), both Leix and Offaly were declared to be shire ground and vested in the Crown. Thus the present King's and Queen's Counties were established.[6] Leases were made to certain English and loyal Irish gentlemen; all were to obey the laws of the Realm, to recognise the English county administration, and to open up the country. Those Irish who were not included in the scheme were naturally hostile, and the prospect of a continual fight for land did not at first tempt many to settle down in these districts.[7]

[1] Henry VIII sent a letter of remonstrance to O'Connor, upon receipt of which he remarked that he should like to hear "no more name of the King of England in Ireland, than of the King of Spain."—*S.P. Hen. VIII* (1834), II. 146.

[2] Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 302; *Four Masters*, V. 1507. See pp. 227–8.

[3] See pp. 228–9.

[4] The rebellion of the O'Mores and O'Connors cost Henry VIII and Edward VI £100,000 sterling.—Lord Deputy Sussex to Philip and Mary (4 April, 1557), *Cal. S.P.I.*, p. 136.

[5] See pp. 229–32.

[6] After 1548, two forts had been built by the English, viz., Fort Protector in Leix, which subsequently became the town of Maryborough, named after the Queen; and Fort Faly in Offaly, on the site of O'Connor's castle of Dengen, which became the modern Philipstown, called after Philip II. See pp. 232–4.

[7] A map of this district, executed in 1563, which shows the wild and inaccessible nature of the country, is reproduced in O'Hanlon and O'Leary's *Hist. of the Queen's Co.*

Between 1563 and 1564, however, a large number of small grants at moderate rents were made to both English and Irish tenants and the plantation began to take root.[1]

A continual struggle followed with those Irish who had been ejected from their lands. They retired into the secure retreats provided by the forests and bogs, and issued forth at night to attack the outlying farms of the planters, and to prey upon their cattle. This guerilla warfare went on for years, and became especially violent under Rory Oge O'More, who claimed the ancient chiefry of Leix, and became the terror of the Pale.[2] During the rebellion of Tyrone the attacks of the Irish were so persistent, and the damage done to the settlement was so great, that the Queen's County was looked upon "as no better than lost."[3] The capture and death of Rory, and then of his son Owny, disheartened the Irish, and they were finally starved into submission by a vigorous campaign undertaken by Mountjoy, in which the rebels' corn in Leix was utterly destroyed.[4] The Spanish method of getting rid of the Moriscoes was adopted by English statesmen in Ireland.[5] In 1607 it was decided to transplant the remnant of the O'Mores and their followers into a remote district in Kerry, under the care of a certain Mr. Crosbie, who himself received a large grant of land there for his services. The Irish were reluctant to go, but force was threatened, and the transplantation was carried out.[6] The future of the settlement was now secured, and a Commission appointed to examine into the condition of the plantations in Ireland in 1622, reported that the King's and Queen's Counties were "well built and peopled with English." The cost of the success of this plantation had been no less than sixty years of continuous warfare. The bitter feelings which had been aroused in the course

[1] Dunlop, "Ireland to the Settlement of Ulster," *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, III. 588.

[2] "The spoilers of the Pale are named Rory Oge with the O'Mores . . . Fiach MacHugh . . . with the O'Connors . . . the manner of their coming is by daylight with bagpipes, by night with torchlight."—Lord Deputy to the Queen (7 Dec., 1572), *Cal. S.P.I.*, p. 490. The incessant attacks made by Rory upon the Pale, and the settlers in the King's and Queen's Counties, form the subject of a contemporary poem styled "The Image of Ireland," by John Derricke.—*Somers Tracts*, I. 562–621. See pp. 234–6.

[3] "The rebels . . . are grown to an exceeding strength . . . the poor English gentlemen . . . not daring to manure one foot of their land, or almost to look out of their castles; which they are now even ready to abandon, for lack of means to relieve them, their tenants being already departed from their dwellings, and become rebels with the rest; so as now we account that county no better than lost; the gaining whereof hath heretofore cost England so much English blood and treasure."—The Lord Justices Loftus and Gardiner to the Privy Council (1 June, 1598), *Cal. S.P.I.*, pp. 169–70.

[4] *Cal. Car. MSS.*, III. 430–3; *Cal. S.P.I.* (Mar.–Oct., 1600), pp. 393–7. See pp. 236–8.

[5] Sir A. Chichester in a letter to the Privy Council, 4 July, 1609, referring to the transplantation of the O'Mores into Kerry, speaks of them as the "White Moors."—*Cal. S.P.I.*, p. 240.

[6] *Cal S.P.I.* (1608–10), pp. lxxiv–lxxv. See pp. 238–41.

of the struggle were to bear fruit in the great Irish rebellion of 1641.[1]

The wars that led to the suppression of the Earl of Desmond's rising left Munster desolate. Great numbers of the Irish had perished,[2] and many of those that survived had fled for safety either abroad or into Ulster and Connacht. The Government determined to colonise the vast tract of land that now lay at its disposal. The estates of Gerald Fitzgerald, the fifteenth Earl of Desmond, comprising about half a million acres, were confiscated, and plans were made for granting the land to English settlers.[3] In June, 1584, a Commission was appointed to survey the area, and in December, 1585 a "Plot of Her Majesty's Offer for the Peopling of Munster" was drawn up. Invitations were issued to various English gentlemen to repair to Ireland, and the advantages of settling there were pointed out.[4] In June, 1586, an amended scheme for the "Repeopling and Inhabiting of Munster" was issued,[5] land was to be allotted in large parcels of 12,000, 8,000 and 4,000 acres; the estates might be held in free and common socage, rents were to be moderate, and all other conditions for planting were easy and attractive. This plantation was initiated in more favourable circumstances than that of Leix and Offaly; there were but few Irish left in Munster to oppose the newcomers, and the settlement had every prospect of success. The surveys were not well executed, however, and a considerable interval elapsed before the undertakers could settle upon their estates. This gave time and opportunity for disputes about boundaries to arise, and the Irish began to return and to lay claim to their lands.[6] The undertakers themselves, most of whom had no knowledge of Ireland, were not satisfactory colonists; they oppressed the Irish and quarrelled among themselves, and demoralised by the large extent of their holdings (which made them unmanageable) and the easy terms of their contracts, did not trouble to fulfil their engagements.[7] Many of the more important people, such as Sir Christopher Hatton, who held over 10,000 acres, were absentees, and managed their estates

[1] "We cannot but with much sorrow represent to your royal Majesty, how that the natives in the province of Ulster, and other the late plantations made by the English here, were by force expelled out of their native seats and ancient possessions, without just grounds."—The Humble Remonstrance of the Northern Catholics of Ireland, now in arms (1641). J. Lodge, *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, II. 93.

[2] See p. 171.

[3] For a general account of this plantation, consult Dunlop's art. on "The Plantation of Munster," *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, III. 250–269; W. F. Butler, *Confiscn. in Irish History*, pp. 23–9; Bonn, *Die engl. Kolonisn. in Irland*, I. 287–310. See pp. 241–3

[4] *Cal. S.P.I.* (1574–85), p. 589; Lodge, *op. cit.*, I., 61. See pp. 243–5.

[5] See pp. 242–3.

[6] See pp. 245–7.

[7] The Inquisition taken in 1611 concerning the state of the lands undertaken in Munster, show that many of the undertakers were still absentees, and that there were a large number of Irish tenants on their estates.—*Cal. Car. MSS.*, VI. 253–8. See also *ibid.* pp. xxviii–xxxii and below p. 248.

through agents, and instead of planting with English tenants as they were bound to do, preferred to let to Irishmen, who, for the sake of regaining their lands, were prepared to submit to rack-rents and extensive service.

Thus the aim of the plantation was frustrated. English landlordism was established in Munster, it is true, but there was no complete colonisation. The Government, by its neglect to provide a military defence for the province, as it had promised to do, combined with the slackness of the undertakers, brought disaster upon the colony; for during Tyrone's rebellion the Munster settlers were attacked by those Irish which they had kept upon their lands, and the settlement was virtually destroyed.[1] After 1600, however, the undertakers and their tenants began to return to their estates and farms, and owing to the example of the first Earl of Cork,[2] who was a model colonist, the Munster plantation became firmly established.[3]

The suppression of Tyrone's rebellion and the conquest of Ireland was the work of Queen Elizabeth; the pacification and settlement of the country was a task reserved for James I.[4] He inaugurated his reign with a policy of conciliation, a general pardon was issued, and all were received into the royal protection.[5] The flight of the Earls from Ulster in 1607 created, however, an entirely new situation. All schemes for the pacification of the North under Irish rule collapsed. The Government had to step into a vacuum and erect a new sovereignty. Ireland, during the reign of Elizabeth, had become, like the New World, a profitable field for English enterprise. With this in mind, the Government did not fail to seize the opportunity afforded by events to include Ulster in the general scheme for English colonisation, and to apply to this province the new theories of sovereignty which had been evolved during the Reformation.[6]

[1] See pp. 211, 249–52.

[2] Richard Boyle, who became Earl of Cork in 1620, was a typical Elizabethan adventurer. He came over to Dublin in 1588 with no prospects and little money, yet by the end of the sixteenth century he had become the owner of more land than anyone else in Ireland. He built bridges, harbours and towns in Munster, and had no fewer than 4,000 labourers upon his vast plantations. From his iron-works alone, Boate declares that he made a clear gain of £100,000.—*Natural History* (1652), p. 112. According to Cox, when Cromwell saw "these prodigious improvements, which he little expected to find in Ireland, he declared that if there had been an Earl of Cork in every province, it would have been impossible for the Irish to have raised a rebellion."—*Hist. of Ireland* (1690), Introd., Vol. II.

[3] "Plantation has gained most part of Munster and all Ulster to such order and obedience as never was yielded to the Crown of England these 200 years."—Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council (6 Feb., 1621), *Cal. S.P.I.*, p. 315. See pp. 252–4.

[4] For a general account of the Plantation in Ulster, see the Prefaces, *Cals. S.P.I.* (1608–10), (1611–14); G. Hill, *The Plantation in Ulster*; Bagwell, *Irel. under the Stuarts*, I. 5; Bonn, *Die engl. Kolonisn. in Irland*, I. 310–34; W. F. Butler, *op. cit.* ch. ii; T. Reid, *Hist. of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, chs. i and ii.

[5] See pp. 208–10.

[6] Sir Geoffrey Fenton, principal Secretary of State, pointed out to Salisbury that by

The royal authority in Ulster, which had never been properly conquered by the English, was still only a name. The Irish of the North, protected by the natural barriers afforded by mountains, forests and the sea, under the suzerainty of their native princes, the O'Neills and the O'Donnells, had for the most part preserved their ancient laws and customs intact.[1] As a result of continuous campaigns during the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth, certain forts and garrisons had been erected in the North; but these were mere strategic positions which had established no points of contact with the life of the people, and in the absence of towns and settlements there were no English influences to make a breach in the national traditions.

It was decided now to reduce Ulstermen to "civility" and good government by a policy of anglicisation. The Irish customs were abolished, and the English settlers, by planting the country, were to set an example of loyalty and to act as a permanent check upon rebellion.[2] The conquest of Ireland had cost Elizabeth over two million pounds.[3] It was hoped that an extensive settlement would be the means of avoiding future expenditure and bring in a permanent revenue for the Crown. Colonisation in Ireland would moreover be a means of satisfying the claims of those who had served the Queen in the late wars, and would relieve the pressure of economic distress produced by the agrarian revolution in England, by providing an outlet for a population for which the home resources had grown inadequate.[4] Bacon set forth these and similar arguments in his *Considerations touching the Plantation in Ireland*, and seems to have been supported in his views by the King and the educated opinion of the day.[5] The English claim to Ulster dated back to the foundation of the earldom by the Normans, but it rested actually upon the right of conquest. In accordance with Tudor practice, however, the Crown took up a legal position, and proceeded to prove that the minor clansmen, who were now at the mercy of the Government, had no right to their lands. After the fall of Shane O'Neill by the 11 Eliz. c. 1, his lands in Ulster were declared forfeited. This Act was taken

the flight of the Earls "a door is open to the King, not only to pull down for ever these two grand houses of O'Neill and O'Donnell, but also to bring in colonies of the English to plant both countries, to a great increase of His Majesty's revenues, and to settle the countries perpetually in the Crown, and besides to recompense many well-deserving servitors in the distribution without charge to His Majesty."—*Cal. S.P.I.* (1608–10), p. liv. The plantation was partly due to a fear entertained by the Government that Tyrone would return at the head of a Spanish force.—*Cal. S.P.I.* (1606–8), pp. 275, 404.

[1] See pp. 259–66.

[2] "If the empty veins of Ulster were once filled with good British blood, the whole body of this commonwealth would quickly recover perfection of health."—Davies to Salisbury (10 June, 1609), *Cal. S.P.I.*, p. 214.

[3] R. Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, I. xxx–xxxvii.

[4] See a tract by Thomas Smith, quoted on pp. 254–7.

[5] See pp. 269–73.

as the foundation for Government action. As a result of the flight of the Earls, their supposed treason and the suppression of their allies, lands which included the six counties of Donegal, Tyrone, Armagh, Coleraine, Fermanagh and Cavan, were confiscated. Further, Sir John Davies, the Attorney-General, ignoring the fact that the King had promised that all vassals would be protected in their rights, stated that practically the whole of Ulster was absolutely at the disposal of the Crown.[1]

Certain moderate statesmen, such as the Deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester and Sir Oliver St. John, were more enlightened in their views,[2] and held that better results would be obtained by some consideration for the rights of the Irish. Future events were to prove the wisdom of their opinions, but Davies had the ear of the Government, and it was his policy that prevailed.

The plantation was carried through by a series of three Commissions,[3] the most important of which was appointed in the summer of 1609 to make an exact survey of the escheated counties, to hold inquisitions and to mark out the proportions of the undertakers.[4] In the "Orders and Conditions," which had been issued by the Government in January of the same year, the scheme of the plantation was set forth.

The lands were divided into three proportions of 1,000, 1,500 and 2,000 acres, and were offered to English and Scottish planters on condition that certain rules were observed. Market towns and free schools were to be founded, and individual settlers were to build strong castles, or brick houses, with "bawns"[5] or courtyards about them, take the Oath of Supremacy and pay a fixed rent according to the size of their holdings. Servitors, or military men, for a higher rent might have Irish tenants upon their lands. The other planters, supposed to be without military experience, were forbidden to have them, but were to import a competent number of English and Scotch to reside on their estates. The Irish, besides being admitted to the lands of the servitors, were to receive small proportions in certain districts, not always in the worst or poorer districts as is sometimes supposed, so that they were not entirely excluded from the settlement though they lost the bulk of their lands. The lots awarded to individual British settlers were smaller than in the Munster plantation, but the terms for undertakers, though somewhat stricter, were rendered almost equally

[1] See an Abstract of "His Majesty's several titles" to all the confiscated lands by Sir John Davies, *Cal. S.P.I.* (1608–10), pp. 552–77.

[2] The Deputy considered that the plantation was "of the nature of those things that are to be wished, rather than hopeful to be effected."—*Cal. S.P.I.* (1608–10), p. 160. Chichester's views on the plantation, expressed on various occasions, are collected by Bonn, *op. cit.* I. 319–21. See pp. 274–6.

[3] See the Preface to *Cal. S.P.I.* (1608–10), and pp. 266–9.

[4] Coloured facsimiles of the maps executed on this occasion have been printed by the Ordnance Survey Office.

[5] See p. 282 *n.* 1.

attractive. The rules for the plantation were very carefully considered, for it was determined to avoid mistakes which had been made in the past.[1]

Certain attempts by individuals, notably Sir Thomas Smith and Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, had been made to plant Ulster during the reign of Elizabeth. Smith sent his son to take possession of the Ards in County Down, which had been granted to him by the Queen. He was attacked by the O'Neills, of Clane-boy, and lost his life. Essex offered to conquer a province for the Queen at his own risk, and gained a large grant of land in Antrim, with many privileges, in 1573. He met with so many difficulties, however, that he had to abandon his enterprise.[2] Though the country was rumoured to abound in natural riches, Englishmen were afraid to adventure amongst a hostile population, who might, in the event of the return of their leaders, overwhelm their settlements, and would, in any case, judging from the experience of previous settlers, attack their cattle and farms.[3]

To put heart into the enterprise, the Government approached the wealthy city of London with a view to plantation. The City at first displayed no enthusiasm for the project, but on receipt of a Government prospectus which enlarged upon the natural advantages of Ulster,[4] they sent four agents to view the country,[5] who were so much impressed with its natural advantages that it was decided to engage in what was one of the most interesting joint-stock enterprises of the period.[6] Having made an agreement with the Government[7] by which the City secured excellent terms, a company was formed to represent the Corporation of the City of London, later known as "The Irish Society," for the plantation of the modern county of Londonderry, which included the City of Derry and the County of Coleraine, besides part of Tyrone and adjoining districts in Donegal and Antrim. The initial capital outlay was met by means of a rate levied upon the London Livery

[1] See pp. 280–5.

[2] For an account of Smith's attempt to colonise the Ards and the misfortunes of his son in Ireland, see Strype's *Life of the Learned Sir Thomas Smith* (ed. 1820), ch. 14. For an account of the difficulties of the Earl of Essex and of his failure, see Devereux, *Lives and Letters of the Earls of Essex*, I. chs. 2–6. See pp. 254–9.

[3] "Since my coming from Dublin, within six days after my arrival here at London, I think I was asked sixteen several times what I thought of this plantation in the north of Ireland, and whether it were possible that those labourers and workmen that are now sent over for the building, could save their throats from cutting, or their heads from being taken from their shoulders, before the work were finished: or what assurance there could be, that when this erection were fully perfected, and that men did think themselves to be most quietly settled, why might not the Irish do then as they had done before, in one night to lay waste and consume all with fire and sword?"—Barnaby Rich, *New Description of Ireland* (1610).

[4] See pp. 285–7.

[5] See pp. 287–8.

[6] See *A Concise View of the Irish Society*; W. R. Scott, *Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to* 1720, II. 338–43; A. H. Johnson, *Hist. of the Company of Drapers of London*.

[7] See pp. 288–90.

Companies, to each of which grants of land were apportioned by lot. The Londoners looked upon the settlement as a commercial speculation, and had an eye to immediate profits. Like the rest of the settlers they obtained more land than was originally intended,[1] and by selling the timber of the woods and retaining the cheap labour of the Irish upon their lands (which they were forbidden to do by the terms of their agreement), ensured the success of their undertaking.[2]

Of the various surveys of the plantation made during the next fifteen years, that by Captain Nicholas Pynnar is the best known. He states that in 1619 there were two thousand British families in the six counties, and notes that 126 castles had been built, but remarks upon a general want of buildings, and the large numbers of Irish that had remained.[3]

The planters from Scotland seem to have been the mainstay of the plantation.[4] They were more industrious than the English and made more of their Irish tenants. They brought with them the organisation of their national Church, and so gave to the settlement the distinctly Puritan character which it still retains.

The discontent displayed by the Irish over the settlement is the best evidence of the success of English policy. The clan system was broken. The people had to give up their pastoral habits and submit themselves to English landlords,[5] some hundreds were transported to fight in the Swedish wars,[6] some went into Connacht, and some remained in their native bogs and forests as wood-kerne or outlaws, to prey on the settlers and watch for an opportunity to regain their lands.[7] As long as the colonists had the support of the home Government all went well with them, but upon the development of Covenanting principles in the North, Laud wrote to Strafford of the "great inconvenience," of the strength of the

[1] According to the official computation, which included only that land supposed to be arable, the extent of the plantation covered 511,465 acres.—*Cal. Car. MSS.*, VI. 235. The total number of acres distributed in all the six counties including arable, waste and bog was, however, about 3,798,000 acres. See Hill, *op. cit.* p. 445; Bonn, *op. cit.* I. 324, 335.

[2] For the defaults of the Londoners in the plantation, see a letter from Sir Thomas Phillips to Charles I, printed in Harris's *Hibernica* (1747), pp. 129–34. In 1634 the wealth of the Irish Society excited the cupidity of the Star Chamber, and Charles I, who was never on good terms with his democratic capital, struck it a side-blow in Ireland by annulling the patents granted by James I. A fresh charter, however, was obtained at the Restoration, under which the "Irish Society" and the City Companies still hold. Recently the greater part of the lands has been sold to the tenants under the Irish Land Purchase Acts. See Scott, *Joint Stock Companies*, II. 341.

[3] See pp. 295–7.

[4] See Sir A. Chichester's description of the Scottish undertakers, *Cal. S.P.I.* (1608–10), pp. 525–6.

[5] The Irish obtained about 52,479 acres under the plantation. See Bonn, *op. cit.* I. 331.

[6] Chichester boasted in 1614 that among his great public services he had sent 6,000 Irish swordsmen to Sweden.—*Cal. S.P.I.* (1611–14), p. 480. See pp. 291–2.

[7] See pp. 293–5.

Scots in Ulster,[1] and the latter aroused the hostility of the Crown. This put heart into the Irish, and they determined to revenge their wrongs. In more ways than one the great rebellion of 1641 was the outcome of the plantation of James I.

The county of Monaghan had not been included in the settlement. On the execution of Hugh Roe MacMahon, towards the end of the reign of Elizabeth, and possibly in view of the fact that the plantation of Munster had not been an unqualified success, about eight of the principal chieftains were granted estates, the remainder of the territory being divided amongst the clansmen at large.[2] A chief rent was reserved to the Queen, and the services which the tenants owed to their lords were commuted into an annual rent. The absence of any progressive element amongst a population of peasant proprietors was soon felt, and Monaghan was represented by the Lords Justices in 1641 as the poorest and most uncivilised part of the Kingdom.[3]

Apart from the official attempts at colonisation, a continuous and unregulated immigration from the south-west of Scotland into north-east Ulster had long been in progress, and at the end of the fifteenth century, when the Scottish King succeeded in breaking up the rival authority of the Lords of the Isles, many permanent settlements were made upon the Antrim coast.[4] The Scots intermarried with the Irish, and acted as mercenaries in their wars. Their presence was most unwelcome to the Government,[5] and many hostings were made against them, but none of the attempts to expel them met with much success. In the end the Government thought it better to accept the inevitable, and to gain the loyalty of the predominant clan of the MacDonnells, the Queen granted Sorley Boy, their most formidable leader, a large slice of Antrim in return for submission and acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Crown (1586).[6]

Sir Randal MacDonnell, who, as a Scotsman, stood high in the favour of James I, received in 1603 the entire region known as the Glynnes and the Route.[7] For his services as a planter he gained the title of Viscount Dunluce, and was created Earl of Antrim in 1620.[8] The unsettled condition of Ireland at this time drew to Ulster many enterprising persons who wished to lay

[1] The Earl of Strafford's *Letters and Dispatches* (ed. 1740), II. 213.

[2] See *Cal. S.P.I.* (1588–92), p. 428, (1606–8) p. 23; Letter of Sir John Davies to Salisbury (1607), *Hist. Tracts* (ed. 1786), p. 232. [3] See pp. 298.

[4] See G. Hill, *An Historical Account the MacDonnells of Antrim.*

[5] "The Scots also inhabiteth now busily a great part of Ulster, which is the King's inheritance; that it is greatly to be feared, unless that in short time they be driven from the same, that they, bringing in more number daily, will, by little and little, so far encroach in acquiring and winning the possessions there, with the aid of the King's disobedient Irish rebels, who do now aid them therein, after such manner, that at length they will put and expel the King from his whole seigniory there."—Report to Cromwell (1533). *S.P. Hen. VIII*, II. 172.

[6] See pp. 299–300. [7] See pp. 300–1. [8] See p. 301.

the foundations of their fortunes. Sir Hugh Montgomery, the Laird of Braidstane in Ayrshire, secured a large grant in the district known as Claneboy and the Great Ards; he brought over with him many substantial farmers from the Scottish Lowlands, and owing to their industry a flourishing colony was soon in existence.[1]

The plantation policy and the colonisation of Ulster mark an important era in Anglo-Irish relations. Ireland was no longer a mere feudal dependency as she had been during the Middle Ages, but was definitely becoming a colony. During the next two hundred years English policy in Ireland was a colonial policy conducted in accordance with the views of the period.

V. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS[2]

Ireland at this period cannot have been very well known to the rest of Europe. During the Middle Ages a considerable trade with the Continent had brought the seaport towns into contact with the outside world, but the disturbed condition of the interior, due to the lack of a strong central government, left the rest of the country comparatively undeveloped, especially as a great part of it was mountainous or covered with forests and bogs. English writers of the sixteenth century were not able to describe the country with complete accuracy.[3] Those who wrote from a distance based their accounts on descriptions given by the ancient geographers, or upon the *Topographia* of Giraldus Cambrensis.[4] Those who visited Ireland were often, for political reasons, unable to travel freely, or saw before them a land devastated by war. All testify nevertheless to the great natural advantages which Ireland has in her harbours, to the richness of her soil and to her wealth in natural products.

Strangers usually describe the people themselves as poor and barbarous, by nature pious, brave, generous, hospitable,[5] and of

[1] See pp. 301–4.

[2] For the social history of this period, see Sir James Ware's *History and Antiquities of Ireland* (ed. Harris); Bonn, *Die engl. Kolonisn. in Irland*; G. B. O'Connor, *Elizabethan Ireland*; Mrs. Green, *The Making of Ireland and its Undoing*; Bagwell, *Ireland under the Tudors*, III., ch. 53. For earlier conditions, see the *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Ireland* (6 vols.); Seebohm, *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*, ch. 4; Sir H. Maine, *Early History of Institutions*; E. O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*; P. W. Joyce, *A Social History of Ancient Ireland*; J. MacNeill, *Phases of Irish History*.

[3] A list of contemporary descriptions of Ireland is given by Hogan in *Description of Ireland* (1598). See Dunlop, "Sixteenth-century Maps of Ireland," *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XX. 309.

[4] Published in 1188. See pp. 311–14.

[5] "I never found in the remote shires of England or Wales either the gentry more kind in their fashion of entertainment, or the merchants and townsmen and women more civil in behaviour, or the mean sort and peasants more loving and serviceable where they are honestly used, through all the five provinces."—Sir John Harington, *A Short View of the State of Ireland* (1605), ed. Macray, p. 9.

fine physique, but ignorant and superstitious,[1] living on a poor diet in miserable houses, and given over to plundering their neighbours, or leading a wandering pastoral existence without regard to agriculture.[2] This must have been a true picture of that part of the population which had suffered in the wars; many of them were on the brink of starvation, their social organisation had been broken up, and numbers, owing to the plantation policy, were uprooted from their homes. We must allow for a certain amount of prejudice on the part of the English writers.[3] They were the conquerors of a stubborn people, they had practically no knowledge of Irish and little insight into the technicalities of the Brehon law, which was the key to a primitive social condition which had once been common to the rest of Europe and still lingered on in this the most remote island of the West.[4]

The old customs blocked the way to the complete anglicisation of the country, and so were looked upon with disfavour by the Government. "If we consider the nature of these Irish customs," wrote Sir John Davies, the Attorney-General, "we shall find that the people that doth use them must of necessity be enemies to all good government."[5] He referred to the Brehon law as no law, but only "a lewd custom"[6] which prevented the Irish from cultivating the soil, building towns and developing trade. "In England," he explained, "and all well-ordered commonweals, men

[1] Barnaby Rich (see p. 153 *n.* 1) gives an account of the charms and incantations in use among the people: "It were both admirable and incredible," he declares maliciously, "for to set down the observations used by the Irish upon certain Saints Eves, . . . what watching, what rattling, what tinkling upon pans and candlesticks, what strewing of herbs, what clamours and what other ceremonies are used, and not only in the country but in Dublin itself." Referring to the large number of saints and holy wells venerated in Ireland, he says, "I think there are more saints known in that country than ever was heard of in Heaven."—*New Description of Ireland*, chs. 11, 13. "Hundreds of better than the common sort," wrote William Lithgow (referring to his travels in Ireland in 1619) "have demanded [of] me if Jerusalem and Christ's Sepulchre were in Ireland, and if the Holy Land was contiguat with St. Patrick's Purgatory."—"Rare Adventures in Ireland," *Ulst. Journ. Arch.* (1911), XVII. 87.

[2] See pp. 314–21.

[3] See an Irish criticism of Fynes Moryson and others, pp. 321–3.

[4] Analogies to most of the Irish customs are to be found in the Highlands of Scotland during the same period, and in the practices of the early Germans, Anglo-Saxons and Welsh. See Skene, *Celtic Scotland*; Seebohm, *The Tribal System in Wales*; Jeudwine, *Foundations of Society and the Land.* Bacon observed at the time of the Ulster plantation that Ireland was the last European country to pass from tribal status to civil policy. See p. 274.

[5] See pp. 351–2. The Irish, as a matter of fact, were very faithful to their own laws. "There is no nation of people under the sun," wrote Davies on another occasion, "that doth love equal and indifferent justice better than the Irish."—*Discovery*, p. 287. "As touching their government in their corporations," wrote Thomas Payne, the Munster undertaker, in 1589, "where they bear rule, is done with such wisdom, equity and justice as demerits worthy commendations. For I myself divers times have seen, in several places within their jurisdictions, well near twenty causes decided at one sitting, with such 'indifferencie' that for the most part both plaintiff and defendant hath departed contented."—"A Brief Description of Ireland," *Ir. Arch. Soc. Tracts* (1841), p. 12.

[6] Davies, *Hist. Tracts* (1786), p. 284.

have certain estates . . . and their inheritances descend from father to son, which doth give them encouragement to build and to plant and to improve their lands." [1] Under the Irish system of tanistry,[2] by which the people exercised the right of election with regard to the succession to the chiefries, a chief had no more than a life interest in his land, and so, according to Davies, had no motive for good government.[3] He was a mere tyrant among his tenants, not ruling by law, but crushing them with heavy exactions. As for gavelkind,[4] by which estates were divided periodically among the members of a sept, no one under this system had a settled interest in his estate, and the King's judges who abolished tanistry and gavelkind by two legal decisions at the beginning of James I's reign deemed it a "mere hotch-pot" arrangement which inevitably led to confusion.[5] The Brehon law was condemned apparently not so much with reference to its actual principles but owing to the political difficulties connected with it. The conflict between Irish customs and English law made it difficult for Englishmen to govern the country. In the absence of any permanent central authority within each clan (for tanistry implied a constantly shifting authority), it was very difficult for the Government to deal with the Irish people. The introduction of feudal ideas of land tenure by Henry VIII on a large scale, was really intended to break up the clan system. When a chieftain rebelled, having voluntarily entered into an agreement with the Crown, his estates, held upon English tenures, were liable to forfeiture for treason.[6] English statesmen also despised Irish civilisation in itself as unprogressive, and in the general interests of "civility" thought it better that all native customs should be swept away, and that Irishmen should become civil subjects of the commonwealth under the law of England.

It is true that the Irish customs, as survivals from an earlier age, did not contain the seeds of progress. The very existence of the Brehons, who formed an hereditary legal caste, withdrew the laws from the free criticism of public opinion. Tanistry also led

[1] See p. 352.

[2] The tanist (Ir., *tánaiste*, O. Ir., *tánaise*, second) was the successor appointed to the chieftainship during the lifetime of the reigning chief. He was generally the strongest and wisest of the available candidates, and was chosen from the royal kinsmen. See the explanation of tanistry given by Shane O'Neill to Queen Elizabeth, p. 172, and also J. MacNeill, "The Irish Law of Dynastic Succession," *Studies* (1919), VIII.

[3] See p. 353.

[4] Gavelkind did not imply a constant re-distribution of lands within the whole tribe as the English writers supposed, but was arranged with reference to the *Derbhfine* or Irish legal family of four generations. See *Anc. Laws. Irel.*, III. cxxxix, IV. xlix–xciv; MacNeill, *Phases of Irish Hist.*, pp. 230–1. Butler, "Policy of Surrender and Regrant," *Journ. Roy. Soc. Antiqs. Irel.* (1913), XLIII. For the working of a similar organisation in ancient Wales, see Seebohm, *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*, ch. 2.

[5] *A Report of Cases and Matters in Law resolved and adjudged in the King's Courts in Ireland*, collected by Sir John Davies, tr. Dublin (1762), p. 135.

[6] See p. 112.

to disputed elections and to frequent wars.[1] Nevertheless the official view does not represent a perfectly correct view of Irish social life in the sixteenth century.[2]

Sir John Davies himself shows from a survey of tribal lands in Fermanagh, that despite the prevalence of communal ideas, private property had developed within the clans to a considerable extent, and that the duties yielded to a chief were payable only from certain chargeable lands[3] and were carefully recorded in an ancient parchment kept by the chief brehon of the country. There is evidence to show that in other parts of the country also the rights of chiefs over their vassals were carefully defined.[4] Not only was gavelkind not carried out haphazard but according to complicated rules which were generally understood, but the practice of "coshering," or the right which a chief had to progress amongst his tenants, was defined by law and by custom.[5] No doubt illegal exactions were taken in time of war, which was only too frequent; this partly explains the anxiety of some of the lesser chieftains to escape from the suzerainty of the O'Neills and other of the great lords, and to make their own terms with the Government, and also the favourable way in which the clansmen at large accepted the terms of the Composition of Connacht.[6] The servile tribes, which still survived in Ireland at this period, were also exploited freely.[7] Where the feudal system had super-imposed itself on tribalism moreover, the Anglo-Irish had adopted the Irish customs while disregarding the limits imposed by Irish law. The Irish practice of quartering men and horses, for instance, among the people at large, known as "bonaght," was adopted by the English and termed "coyne and livery." The exactions

[1] This is well illustrated by the history of the clan O'Carroll in the sixteenth century. See Dunlop, *Irel. under the Commonwealth*, I. xxiii–xxv.

[2] Spenser alone of the writers of the period takes a scholarly view of the Irish customs. "All the customs of the Irish, which I have often noted and compared with that I have read," he wrote, "would minister occasion of most ample discourse of the first original of them, and the antiquity of that people, which in truth I do think to be more ancient than most that I know in this end of the world; so as if it were in the handling of some man of sound judgement and plentiful reading it would be most pleasant and profitable."—*View*, pp. 624–5. The Brehon law had been in existence for nearly 1,200 years.—*Anc. Laws Irel.*, Introd., Vol. I.

[3] See pp. 323–7. A full list of "chargeable lands" in Ireland is given by Sir Warham St. Leger (1589), *Cal. S.P.I.*, p. 203.

[4] For the Irish land system at this period, see Mrs. Green, "Irish Land in the Sixteenth Century," *Eriu* (1907), III.; Butler, "The Lordship of MacCarthy Mór," *Journ. Roy. Soc. Antiqs. Irel.* (1906–7), xxxvi–xxxvii; Paper upon "Ancient Irish Income," *Ulst. Journ. Arch.* (1856), IV. 241–52. See also accounts of O'Rourke's country in Connacht, *Cal. S.P.I.* (1588–92), pp. 464–9.

[5] *Anc. Laws Irel.*, II. 21–39, IV. ccviii. 345. See p. 329 *n.* 2.

[6] See pp. 36–7.

[7] The arch-chiefs of the O'Kelleys had the right to increase the rents of the servile tribes of their territories in the present counties of Roscommon and Galway to an unlimited extent. *Tribes and Customs of the Hy-Many* (ed. O'Donovan). *Ir. Arch. Soc* (1843), p. 85.

involved were a frequent cause of disorder and were severely censured by the Government.[1]

An inquiry into the division of land amongst the O'Sullivans in Munster in 1587 describes the chieftain with a small but well-defined demesne land and certain lands set apart for the tanist and other royal kinsmen; it also shows the custom of gavelkind in working order within the sept.[2] In a letter to Salisbury, written in 1607, Davies refers to the free and privileged lands of chroniclers, rhymers and gallowglass, and explains the immunities and rights enjoyed by holders of termon or church lands.[3] The clansmen at large, to whom the whole territory belonged in theory, had not actually much power, but subject to the rights of gavelkind, they could not be dispossessed of their lands, and had a share in the mountain, bog, forest and other waste areas which were held in common.[4] A large number, especially in the North, did no doubt lead purely pastoral lives; the tenants of the Earl of Tyrone, described by Sir Toby Caulfield in December, 1610,[5] were evidently members of "creaghts," i.e. wandering tribes who led their cattle from pasture to pasture, erecting primitive dwellings of boughs or turf, which they abandoned at will.[6] Elsewhere we have a certain amount of evidence that the Irish cultivated their lands. During the Middle Ages a large quantity of corn was exported from Ireland to feed the King's armies in Gascony, Scotland and Wales,[7] and during the sixteenth century several English writers testify to the existence of crops in various parts of the country. Spenser says that Munster, before the wars, "was a most rich and plentiful country, full of corn and cattle," and that the people themselves were "great ploughers and small spenders of corn."[8] Fynes Moryson, that the fields of Ireland yielded "great increase of corn;"[9] Sir Henry Docwra that O'Cahan's country was "large and full of houses and corn."[10] Sir Thomas Phillips wrote in 1608 that he

[1] "Coyne and livery (Ir. *coinmheadh*, Fr. *livrée*) is an extortion and violent taking of meat and drink and money by the warlike retainers of such as pretend to have captainry, rule, or charge of defence of countries, as well upon their own as upon their neighbours. They who take it say that it cannot be taken away until a better mean may be found for defence of the countries under their rule."—*Cal. Car. MSS.*, II. 153. See *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, III. (i.), No. 670; *Annuary Kilkenny Arch. Soc.* (1869), pp. 90–1; see pp. 87–8, 328–9, 353.

[2] See pp. 330–1.

[3] See pp. 324–6.

[4] In 1600, during the ascendancy of general rebellion under Tyrone, an epistolary writer in the County Carlow stated that "the rebels brought forth their Irish books at the Garkill, near Leighlin, importing what lands the several stirps of the Irishry had before the Conquest, and have disclosed their purpose to exclude all the ancient English gentlemen from their possessions."—*Ulst. Journ. Arch.* (1857), V. 40.

[5] See pp. 329–30.

[6] See Prendergast, "The Ulster Creaghts," *Journ. Roy. Soc. Antiqs. Irel.* (1855), III. 420–30; Hill, *Plantation in Ulster*, p. 99 *n.*; also p. 275 *n.* 2.

[7] *Cal. Docs. Relating to Irel.* (1171–1307), IV., 86, 147, etc.; Sir J. Gilbert, *Hist. and Municipal Docs. of Irel.*, pp. 103–4.

[8] *View*, pp. 654, 669.

[9] *Itinerary*, IV. 191–2.

[10] "Narration," *Misc. Celtic Soc.*, p. 257.

had passed through the "fastest" country in Tyrone, where he did not expect to have seen so much corn,[1] and in 1609 he wrote, "the Irishmen have been so addicted to tillage that a Bristol ban-barrel of barley was sold but for 18d. in the market of Coleraine."[2] Much of the corn was destroyed by the soldiers of Elizabeth, and tillage was often neglected by the Irish themselves from motives of defence.[3] The real wealth of the latter, however, lay in their cattle,[4] and their methods of husbandry were somewhat primitive. Acts were passed by the Irish Parliament in 1635–6 prohibiting the practice of "ploughing by the tail" (i.e. attaching the ploughs to the tails of horses), together with the customs of pulling the wool off live sheep, and burning the straw instead of threshing out the corn.[5] This legislation seems to have been inoperative, however, for all these practices were found in Ireland in 1777 by Arthur Young.[6]

The houses of the people at large were small and poor, many of them built of rods or wattles plastered over with clay and covered with straw, circular huts supported on poles without windows, in which when a fire was lit in the centre, the smoke escaped from a hole in the roof.[7] The Irish villages were built of these huts clustered round the mansions of the nobles, and on one occasion at least the English were surprised to find a well-ordered settlement with roads, fields and fences, in a part of the country which had escaped the ravages of war.[8] Some of the Irish had timbered

[1] Fast, i.e. secure against attack or access. See G. Hill, *MacDonnells of Antrim*, p. 217.

[2] *Cal. S.P.I.* (1611–14), p. 226.

[3] "None of them would sow any of their corn but in the skirt of woods and within bogs, where strangers could not get at it."—*Cal. S.P.I.* (1601–3), p. 374. The Irish sometimes destroyed crops and even houses to deprive the English of the use of them. —*Cal. S.P.I.* (1592–6), pp. 335, 343; O'Clery's *Life of Hugh O'Donnell*, p. 107; Wilson, *Begs. Mod. Irel.*, p. 411.

[4] See p. 313 *n.* 1.

[5] 10 & 11 Chas. I, cc. 15, 17. *Irish Statutes* (1786), II. pp. 168–72.

[6] *Tour in Ireland* (1780).

[7] "The baser cottages are built of underwood called wattle, and covered some with thatch and some with green sedge, of a round form and without chimneys, and to my imagination resemble so many hives of bees about a country farm."—Luke Gernons' "Descr. of Irel." (1620), pr. in C. L. Falkiner's *Illustrns. of Irish Hist.* "The towns are built in the English fashion, but the houses in the country are in this manner. Two stakes are fixed in the ground, across which is a transverse pole to support two rows of rafters on the two sides, which are covered with leaves and straw. The cabins are of another fashion. There are four walls the height of a man, supporting rafters over which they thatch with straw and leaves. They are without chimneys and make the fire in the middle of the hut, which greatly incommodes those who are not fond of smoke. The castles or houses of the nobility consist of four walls extremely high, thatched with straw; but to tell the truth they are nothing but square towers without windows, or at least having such small apertures as to give no more light than there is in a prison. They have little furniture, and cover their rooms with rushes, of which they make their beds in summer, and of straw in winter. They put the rushes a foot deep on their floors, and on their windows, and many of them ornament the ceiling with branches."—M. de la Boullaye le Gouz, *Tour in Ireland* (1644), ed. Croker, pp. 40–1; see also Ware's *Antiquities*, 181; Joyce, *Social Hist.*, II., ch. xx.

[8] See p. 238.

houses in the manner of the Pale, in which English settlers were sometimes glad to lodge,[1] and as the chiefs had learnt castle building from the English the country at this period was scattered with stone towers.[2]

Ulster was the poorest and wildest of the provinces; the O'Neills and the O'Donnells could raise large forces in war, but their people had built no walled towns; there the old Brehon law survived in its integrity, and had the strongest hold over the clansmen; the royal sheriffs entered the North at the peril of their lives. Munster was better developed, the land was rich, there were many towns and walled cities, and the people were in touch through trade with the Continent, and more particularly with Spain.

We get striking contrasts in manners also according to the district under observation: a bardic account of the Court of the Maguire in Fermanagh shows the chieftain feasting with his warriors, listening to music and ancient histories, and setting forth upon a plundering expedition in the manner of an old romance.[3] Sir John Harington visited O'Neill at his house at Dungannon in 1599 and found his sons dressed like those of an English nobleman. O'Neill himself, who had been educated at the English Court, displayed much interest in Harington's new translation of Ariosto, but the visitors sat down to meat at a fern table in the open air, and other domestic arrangements of the Earl struck the English courtier as primitive.[4]

The Anglo-Irish nobles, such as the Earl of Kildare, led an existence half-English and half-Irish in character. Kildare himself ruled by the strong hand[5] and by a judicious mixture of English law and Irish custom,[6] but the contents of his library and the

[1] *Cal. S.P.I.* (1611–14), pp. 126, 127, 129–30; *Cal. Car. MSS.*, VI. 53; Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary*, II. 415.

[2] The Desmond Roll, 1583, describes the castle of Newcastle O'Connell, Co. Limerick, as follows:—"One great castle built of square plan, a chief house of the said Earl of Desmond, . . . having at each angle of the same a round tower, with various places and chambers in each tower. And there is at the south corner on the western side . . . at the south part, a high square tower or peel, built for defence within the walls . . . and also there were within the walls of the said castle many buildings—namely a large hall, a large room, and an excellent chamber, one garden and in the same two fish-ponds. And outside the walls, and near them, are divers orchards and gardens, 3 acres of land, worth in all . . . 126s. 8d. sterling."—*Journ. Roy. Soc. Antiqs. Irel.* (1909), XXIX. 56–7. See p. 354.

[3] See pp. 335–7.

[4] See pp. 338–9.

[5] Stanihurst reports the Earl of Kildare as saying to Wolsey, "Little know you, my Lord, how necessary it is, not only for the Governor, but also for every noble man in Ireland to hamper his uncivil neighbours at discretion, wherein if they waited for process of law . . . they might hap to lose their own lives and lands without law. . . . In England there is not a mean subject that dare extend his hand to fillip a peer of the realm. In Ireland, except the lord have cunning to his strength, and strength to save his crown, and sufficient authority to take thieves and varlets when they stir, he shall find them swarm so fast, that it will be too late to call for justice."—Holinshed's *Chronicles* (ed. 1808), VI. 282–3.

[6] "He used two laws, our Prince's laws and Brehons' laws, which he thought most beneficial as the case did require."—"Presentment of David Sutton for the County of

inventory of his possessions taken at his castle of Maynooth [1] seem to indicate that he was the equal of any great nobleman of the period in culture and magnificence.

The Irish were carefully distinguished into social classes; [2] kings or chiefs, tanists, nobles, freemen and slaves. Many of the chiefs descended from the old kings held sway over large territories; they were dependent for their power, not on the extent of their private demesnes, however, but on the allegiance of their vassals. These supported them in war and provided them with rents, mainly in kind. We get occasional glimpses of the royal state which was maintained by the Irish princes. The chiefs of the O'Kelleys, for instance, had a marshal of the forces, a superintendent of banquets, a keeper of the cups and chessboards, a keeper of the hounds, a steward of rents and exactions, harpers and so forth.[3] Under the arch-chiefs were the sub-chiefs, and captains, and the chief kinsmen within the septs. The brehons, who had expounded the law from earliest times, belonging to an hereditary caste, had many privileges, as also had the bards, chroniclers and rhymers.[4] The bards, as the exponents of the national feeling, were especially disliked by the Government, and their activities were controlled by various legal enactments.[5] They raised a warlike spirit in those chieftains who were their patrons, and handed on the national traditions through their art. They were even known to encourage the English lords in their extortionate policy within the Pale procuring "a talent of Irish disposition and conversation in them" which was "convenient to be expelled." [6] Much of the bardic poetry sounds merely rhetorical to modern ears, but some of it contains great depth of feeling and beauty of expression, as may be seen by such a poem as that written on the Flight of the Earls in 1607.[7]

Kildare," 1537, *Ann. Kilk. Arch. Soc.* (1869), p. 162. For the arrangements maintained in semi-feudalised districts, see the "Rental Book of the Earl of Kildare" (ed. Hore), *Journ. Roy. Soc. Antiqs. Irel.* (1859), V. 266, 301; (1862), VII. 110–37; (1867), VIII. 501, 525; see also *Procs. Roy. Ir. Academy*, X. 480, 490. For other instances of the use of the Brehon Law amongst the English, see *Cal. Car. MSS.*, I. 331, 343; *Ancient Laws*, Introd., I. vi.

[1] For an extract from the catalogue of the library, which included Latin, French, English and Irish books, see Gilbert, *Facsimiles Nat. MSS. Irel.*, Pt. III., Plate 63. The contents of the castle included tapestry, beds of russet cloth of gold, Turkey carpets and plate worth 1,000 marks.—"The Wardrobe of Maynooth" (1534), *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, VII., No. 1382.

[2] See *Anc. Laws*, IV. ccix, 353; W. K. Sullivan's Introd. to O'Curry's *Manners and Customs*, pp. cix–cxxx; Joyce, *op. cit.* I; Bonn, *op. cit.* I. 61–9.

[3] *Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many* (ed. O'Donovan), p. 87.

[4] Mrs. Green, *Making of Ireland*, pp. 312–17.

[5] In the reign of Edward VI it was enacted that no poet should compose any poem except in honour of the King. *Cal. Car. MSS.*, I. 214–15. See p. 166.

[6] *S.P. Hen. VIII* (1834), II. 450.

[7] See pp. 342–3. Also an article upon bardic poetry by Dr. Osborn Bergin in the *Journal of the Ivernian Society* (1912–13), V; E. C. Quiggin, "Prolegomena to the Study of the Later Irish Bards," *Procs. Brit. Acad.*, V. 89; J. C. Walker, *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards*. Many hitherto unpublished poems of this period have recently appeared in the *Irish Review* and in *Studies*, ed. and tr. by Dr. Osborn Bergin.

The Irish were always naturally inclined to piety and learning. The chiefs were the benefactors of churches and the patrons of scholars and poets, they made pilgrimages to foreign shrines, and some of them in person undertook the collection of manuscripts and wrote the lives of saints.[1] The new tendencies of the Renaissance had hardly made an appearance in the country by the sixteenth century, and Irish culture and civilisation were still mediæval. The Annals are purely mediæval chronicles and professedly historical works, such as the *Leabhar Clainne Suibhne*,[2] a sixteenth-century account of the MacSweeneys of Donegal, or the *Historiæ Catholicæ Compendium*[3] of Philip O'Sullivan Beare, display little critical faculty or sense of historical perspective. The learning of the upper classes was moulded by ecclesiastical influences. Latin, for instance, was the language of literature and diplomacy.[4] There were some purely Irish centres for the study of law and poetry.[5] A school of law and history flourished under the MacEgans in Tipperary, and in Clare the O'Davorens maintained another establishment.[6] Excellent grammar schools were to be found in some of the towns.[7] During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a fair number of Irish went to study at Oxford,[8] and towards the end of the period, as the result of the policy of repression at home, many Irish colleges were established upon the Continent which turned out scholars and historians of a new type.[9]

The dress of the people is fully described by contemporaries. The poorer inhabitants of the bogs and mountains went bare-headed, with little other covering than the celebrated Irish cloak. The more prosperous also wore the mantle of frieze or cloth, and a wide linen tunic gathered into numerous pleats with wide-hanging sleeves, generally dyed saffron colour, close-fitting hose extending from hip to ankle called "trews" (Ir. *trius* or *triubhas*) or "trouses," conical caps of frieze upon their heads, and untanned leather brogues upon their feet. The women were fond of bright colours and many ornaments, and wore a folded linen head-dress

[1] See pp. 344–5.
[2] Ed. by the Rev. P. Walsh (1920).
[3] See p. 140 *n.* 2.
[4] See Mrs. Green, *Making of Ireland*, pp. 249–51.
[5] For accounts of bardic schools, see Douglas Hyde, *Literary History of Ireland*, ch. xix.; O. Bergin, *loc. cit.*; Mrs. Green, *op. cit.* pp. 363–7. For the learning acquired in these schools, see Joyce, *op. cit.*, II. 422–35; O'Curry, *Manners and Customs*, II. 170–3. Many Scottish bards went to Ireland at this period to perfect themselves in their art.—*Journ. Roy. Soc. Antiqs. Irel.*, (1858), IV. 254.
[6] See *Journ. Galway Arch. and Hist. Soc.* (1919), IV. 1–10; *Journ. North Munster Arch. Soc.* (1912), II. 63–93.
[7] See pp. 345–6.
[8] A list of Irishmen at Oxford is given by Mrs. Green, *op. cit.*, pp. 289–302.
[9] For a list of Irish colleges abroad, see Ware's *Antiquities*, ch. 37; Bellesheim, *Gesch. der katholn. Kirche in Irland*, II. See Students' Matriculation Lists at Salamanca, published in the *Arch. Hibernicum* (1913–14), II, III, and a list of Irish scholars at Prague given by Mrs. Green, *op. cit.*, pp. 454–8. See also Ware's *Irish Writers* and notes on the "Learned Men and Authors of Ireland," given by Stanihurst in Holinshed (ed. 1808), VI, ch. 7.

which differed in shape in the various provinces.[1] In the towns the people's dresses were naturally of richer materials, and the attire of some of the chiefs must have been, upon occasion, at least as magnificent as it was in ancient times,[2] or as it is depicted in sculptures upon mediæval remains. In the negotiations carried on between O'Donnell and the Lord Deputy in 1541, St. Leger reports that the Irishman appeared in "a coat of crimson velvet, with aiglets of gold; . . . over that a great double cloak of right crimson satin, guarded with black velvet, a bonnet with a feather set full of aiglets of gold," [3] and in a tailor's bill presented to the Earl of Clanrickarde in 1578, the items include doublets of satin and hose of velvet beside "a cloak of fine puke" and "a pair of ash-coloured sockes (hose)." [4] As the preservation of national dress and manners helped to keep alive the spirit of resistance, they were prohibited upon several occasions by law,[5] and though Irish gentlemen at the end of the sixteenth century began to figure in cloaks and ruffs, yellow stockings and silk garters,[6] the social habits of this period lingered on for centuries among the poorer classes, and many traces of them may still be found in various parts of the country.[7]

Most of the Irish towns were founded either by the Norsemen or by the Anglo-Normans. This accounts for their isolated position as centres of organised trade, and of English law and influence during the political disturbances of the mediæval period.[8] The main features of their social life and organisation were similar to those of English towns. Dublin obtained the first of its many charters from Henry II. The Dublin Gild of Merchants, known as the Gild of the Holy Trinity, was probably founded shortly after the Anglo-Norman invasion. In the thirteenth century the rolls of the Gild contain the names of physicians, apothecaries and goldsmiths, together with those of representatives of almost every craft or trade from various parts of England, Scotland, Wales, France, Brabant and Flanders. By Elizabeth's reign it comprised all the

[1] See Ware's *Antiquities*, ch. xxiii; J. C. Walker, *An Historical Essay on the Dress of the Ancient and Modern Irish.* For illustrations of Irish costume, see Derrick's "Image of Ireland" (1581) in Somer's *Tracts*, I.; Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain.* The dress of the Scottish Highlanders of this period was very similar. *Ulst. Journ. Arch.* (1858), VI. 316–27. See pp. 167 *n.* 2, 347–50.

[2] Joyce, *op. cit.*, II., ch. xxii.

[3] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, III. 320.

[4] *Journ. Roy. Soc. Antiqs. Irel.* (1858), IV., 247–8.

[5] See pp. 112–14, 166–7.

[6] Walker, *op. cit.* p. 66.

[7] See a description of the people of the Rosses in Donegal at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Walker, *op. cit.*, Appendix.

[8] For the early history of Irish towns, see Gilbert, *Hist. and Munic. Docs. of Irel.* (1172–1320); *Chartæ, Privilegia et Immunitates* (Irish Record Commission); *Statutes and Ordinances and Acts of the Parliament of Ireland* (ed. Berry); also references given on pp. 355, 362, 365, 368–9.

wealthy wholesale merchants and was able to contribute two-thirds of the town cess. The crafts of the tailors, smiths, barber-surgeons, and shoemakers were incorporated in the fifteenth century; the carpenters, millers, masons and heliers (slaters), received their charter in the reign of Henry VII.[1] The other Irish cities received substantial privileges from the Crown before the end of the thirteenth century; in these, too, craft organisations had been formed.[2] The municipal ordinances show the usual economic forces of the period at work. We find regulations to secure the quality of goods, moderate hours of work and suitable conditions for apprenticeship.[3] State legislation, always with a view to the maintenance of the royal customs, prohibited forestalling and regrating, regulated wages with regard to the price of victuals and restricted vagrancy.[4]

In the later Middle Ages, when the central power was weak in Ireland, the large measure of support granted to the towns was given as a matter of policy. "Planted among a crew of naughty and prowling neighbours," [5] they were "the anchor-hold of assurance" in "doubtful and troublesome times." [6] Acting as bulwarks against the feudal encroachments of Irish or Anglo-Irish lords, they took advantage of their functions and of the extensive nature of their privileges to establish themselves as semi-independent republics. They formed confederations for the defence of their interests,[7] or made peace and war upon neighbouring rivals at will.[8]

As a result of commercial activity during the Middle Ages, at the opening of the sixteenth century, Dublin and the other chief towns were prosperous centres. They were adorned with handsome buildings, and Irish merchants could often compare in dignity and wealth with any in England.[9] "Their cities and towns more populous than ever in the memory of man," wrote Sir Henry Sydney to Queen Elizabeth on the 20th May, 1577, "their houses so far exceeding their ancestors, that they be thought rather to be

[1] Consult the index of the *Journ. Roy. Soc. Antiqs. Irel.* for various papers by H. F. Berry on the Dublin gilds.

[2] A French poem of 1265 describes how the various gilds of New Ross built up the city walls in that year.—G. H. Orpen, *New Ross in the Thirteenth Century*.

[3] Gilbert, *Cal. Anc. Records of Dublin*; "Archives of the Municipal Corporation of Waterford," and "Archives of the Town of Galway," *Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep.* X. Appendix V.

[4] 33 Hen. VIII, cc. 2, 9, 15; 11 Eliz. c. 5; 13 Eliz. c. 1. *Irish Statutes*, (1786), I. 178, 185, 195, 319, 376.

[5] See Stanihurst's description of the town of Ross. Holinshed's *Chronicles* (ed. 1808), VI., 30.

[6] See p. 371.

[7] Such a confederation was formed by Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Waterford and Drogheda in 1285.—Gilbert, *Hist. and Munic. Docs.*, p. 196.

[8] *Annuary Kilk. Arch. Soc.* (1869), p. 75.

[9] See pp. 358–60, 365, 368–9, 371.

another and a new people, than descendants of the old." [1] "I do see the Realm mightily increased in substance and wealth," wrote another Englishman in 1591, "rich in plate, rich in all manner of furniture and wares; their houses high-rented, their lands in many places let out for £30 and £40 a year, that at my first coming into Ireland would not have yielded £10." [2] Until well on into Elizabeth's reign the towns prided themselves upon their loyalty.[3] At first the general state of disorder produced by the wars worked to their advantage, they sold provisions and munitions to the Irish in the interior [4] and managed to retain their trade with Spain. Their loyalty had, however, always been bound up with their self-interest, and when the Government tried to curtail the Spanish trade [5] and the towns began to suffer from the depreciation of the currency and the cost of maintaining garrisons, they soon assumed a new attitude. They began to complain of waning prosperity,[6] and their disaffection took shape in riotous attacks upon the garrisons and in open celebrations of Mass on the death of the Queen.[7] Now that the central power was stronger and had subdued both the Irish chiefs and the great Anglo-Irish lords, there was no need for the Government to rely upon the towns, and the policy of conciliation was abandoned. Henceforward their privileges were curtailed and the cities became of less political importance.[8]

Trade between Ireland and the Continent in the sixteenth century was fairly active, though not possibly so extensive as it had been during the Middle Ages.[9] The exports were largely raw materials, hides and skins, timber, tallow, fish, flax, leather, wool, finished rugs, linen yarn and frieze. The chief import was wine,[10] which came from France and Spain; other imported commodities were iron and salt, spices, a variety of miscellaneous goods from England, such as pewter-ware, silks, groceries and merceries,[11]

[1] Collins, *Letters and Memorials of State*, I. 182.

[2] *Cal. S.P.I.* (1599–1600), p. 353.

[3] See pp. 167–8, 363.

[4] "Where an Englishman dares not to go a quarter of a mile out of any town, but he shall be murdered, the Irish merchant passeth amongst them (the 'traitors') quietly; they will not hurt their best friends and maintainers."—*Cal. S.P.I.* (1599–1600), p. 476. In his account of the siege of Glyn Castle, a Geraldine stronghold, taken by Carew in 1600, Stafford relates that a merchant of Limerick had taken up his abode there "as a general factor for the city to vend commodities to the rebels."—*Pac. Hib.* (ed. O'Grady), I. ch. 9. See p. 191.

[5] See pp. 192–3.

[6] See pp. 361–2, 381–2.

[7] *Cal. Car. MSS.*, VI. 278. The influence of the Jesuits on the towns has already been alluded to (p. 33). Fynes Moryson declared that the swarms of priests in Munster far exceeded the number of the King's soldiers.—*Itinerary*, III. 343.

[8] There were at least forty-three walled cities and towns in Elizabethan Ireland. See a list given by Stanihurst in Holinshed, VI. 35.

[9] For trade in the Middle Ages, see *Cal. of Docs. Relating to Irel.* (1171–1307); H. Wood, "Commercial Intercourse with Ireland in the Middle Ages," *Studies*, (1915), IV. 250; Mrs. Green, *Making of Ireland*, also references given on p. 66 *n.* 8.

[10] One thousand tuns of Spanish wine were brought yearly into Munster alone.—*Cal. Car. MSS.*, II. 286.

[11] See pp. 367, 373–4.

ammunition and arms.[1] The spinning and weaving necessary to produce cloth and frieze was certainly carried on in the towns; yarn was bought in remote districts, however,[2] and cloth may have been made throughout the country.

There must have been considerable traffic besides that in arms between the merchants of the seaport towns and the interior, from which the bulk of Irish produce came. There is little evidence of an extensive money economy in the country districts, however. Ransoms were often reckoned in horses and herds,[3] rents were generally paid in cows,[4] and some of the greatest of the Irish chiefs are described by Sir John Perrot in a letter to Queen Elizabeth in 1586 as "lords of cattle but not of much money." [5]

There is not much evidence of extensive foreign enterprise in Ireland at this period. Some Spanish merchants must have resided in the Munster towns, and the trade of Dublin was of sufficient importance to attract persons from the cities and towns of Brittany, Southern France and the Netherlands. These sometimes acquired the franchise, and thus the right to participate in retail as well as wholesale trade.[6] There are indications that the Dutch were monopolising the carrying trade between London and Dublin towards the end of the century, and individual Dutchmen made proposals to the Government for settling Irish land.[7]

Pirates had haunted the Irish seas from early times, and in the Tudor period they grew to quite considerable numbers. Many of the crews were English or Flemish, some were Irish. In 1600, Sir George Carew described to the Privy Council how some Irish pirates on the Shannon "had blocked up the head of the river and thereby restrained the merchants' traffic of this town (Limerick) altogether." [8] So daring had pirates become by 1608, that Lord Danvers, President of Munster, gave it as his opinion that they would not even leave "the gates of hell unripped-open in hope of gain." [9] When peace was restored under James I, Ireland became more settled and prosperous,[10] and as the volume of trade increased the scope for piratical outrages was enlarged. The most

[1] See p. 191.

[2] *Cal. S.P.I.* (1611–14), p. 37.

[3] *Four Masters*, V. 1791.

[4] See an agreement made between O'Neill and O'Cahan in 1606.—*Cal. S.P.I.*, p. 110. The "bonaghts," or mercenaries of the chiefs, were also often paid in cows. See p. 326 *n.* 1.

[5] Perrot requested in the same letter that an allowance of £3,000 (to be balanced by an appropriate number of beeves to be handed over to the Queen's Victualler) might be made to the Earls of Tyrone, Clanrickarde and others, whom he suggested bringing over to England, on a visit to her Majesty, "to divert the Spanish purposes."—R. Rawlinson, *Life of Sir John Perrot* (1728), pp. 248–9. See pp. 316, 320.

[6] *Cal. Fiants Eliz.*, Nos. 364, 403, 1058, etc. *11th Rept. Dep. Keeper Public Records, Ireland.*

[7] See p. 377, and *Cal. Car. MSS.*, VI. 153.

[8] *Cal. Car. MSS.*, III. 403.

[9] *Cal. S.P.I.* (1608–10), p. 100.

[10] See G. O'Brien, *Econ. Hist. of Ireland in the Seventeenth Century.*

notable exploit in the early seventeenth century by these pirates who haunted the Irish seas was the sack of Baltimore (1631), when a squadron of Algerine corsairs pillaged the colony and carried off at least one hundred inhabitants as captives.[1] The clearing of the Irish Sea of pirates by Strafford was not the least valuable of his reforms.

So far as is known, the first difference in the standard of English and Irish money began in 1470, when coins were struck of the proportion of 44*s.* Irish to 37*s.* 6*d.* English.[2] Shortly afterwards, the Irish coinage is found to be one-third under sterling, that is to say, that the Irish shilling valued at 9*d.* in England passed in Ireland for 12*d.*[3]

Henry VIII, who was hard put to it for lack of funds, not only for his Irish campaigns, but for his expeditions to Scotland and France, introduced a considerable depreciation into the Irish coinage, the monies struck towards the end of the reign containing so much alloy that they were little better than brass.[4] Under Edward VI and Mary the standard was also low. £10,000 worth of the base monies brought into England by Philip II was recoined for Ireland, and prohibited for use in England.[5] In 1560, as a result of the reform of the coinage in England, the Irish currency was restored on the one-third basis.[6]

Towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, owing to the great expenses of the Irish war, it was decided to produce a special coinage to pay the army in Ireland. In this coinage the shilling contained almost three-fourths of alloy. Its real value was 3*d.* The pound of copper costing 6*d.* was coined into 16*s.*[7] The new coin was made current by several Proclamations (1601–2),[8] and all other coins were ordered to be brought to the exchanges which were established in various English and Irish towns. The avowed aim of the Government was to weaken the resistance of the Irish rebels, who had hitherto made use of the English currency to purchase arms and ammunition abroad. Foreign trade was certainly damaged, but otherwise the scheme hardly worked as anticipated The Government wishing to facilitate trade with England arranged

[1] *Cal. S.P.I.* (1611–14), p. lxxi.

[2] For a general account of the Irish coinage at this period, see Ware's *Antiquities*, ch. xxxii; J. Simon, *An Essay towards an Hist. Account of Irish Coins*; R. Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage*; R. Steele, *Introd. to Bibliography of Royal Proclamations of the Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns*; Preface, *Cal. S.P.I.* (1601–3).

[3] Simon, *op. cit.* p. 32.

[4] *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, XIX. (i), p. xxxv.; *Four Masters*, V., 1499. For instances of the distress in Ireland owing to the depreciation of the coinage at this period, see *Cal. S.P.I.* (1509–73), pp. 116, 122, 124–5.

[5] Simon, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[6] *Cal. Car. MSS.*, I. 311.

[7] "One pound weight of silver of the standard of Ireland costs the Queen 16*s.* 0½*d.* and the workmanship 1*s.* 8*d.*, or in all, 17*s.* 8⅞*d.* It makes in Irish money by tale £3. 2*s.* One pound of copper costs the Queen 6*d.* and the workmanship thereof 1*s.* 10*d.*, which is in all 2*s.* 4*d.* It makes in tale 16*s.*"—*Cal. S.P.I.* (1601–3), p. 248.

[8] *Cal. Car. MSS.*, IV. 67–9, 409–14; *Cal. S.P.I.* (1601–3), pp. 407–10.

to exchange 19*s.* of English money for 20*s.* Irish brought into the exchanges.[1] As a result the new base coins were tendered for exchange on a far larger scale than the amount of commercial transactions required, and therefore failed to pass into circulation.[2] At the same time the prices of commodities in Ireland rose 70 per cent. or 80 per cent. in consequence of the debasement of the Irish currency, and importers of English goods made very large profits. In a few months Sir George Carey, the Vice-Treasurer, had given bills for £18,000, having received no more than £20 worth of the old sterling.[3] Harder conditions of exchange were subsequently introduced, those who asked for bills of exchange had to pay partly in sterling, and the bills themselves were for a while withheld.[4] Prices continued to soar, coiners got to work,[5] and there was widespread distress. The greatest sufferers were the English officials in Ireland, not excluding the Lord Deputy himself, who complained that he was unable to live, in that "four times the entertainment allowed him by her Majesty for his maintenance, would not answer his ordinary expenses."[6]

Under James I the debased emergency currency was abandoned and a return to older conditions was made. The token shillings were reduced to 3*d.* Irish, and owing to a deficiency of Irish or Harp money, English silver was made current in Ireland at 16*d.* Irish for every shilling English.[7]

The direct representative of the King in Ireland was the Lord Deputy, who ruled with the aid of a Privy Council composed of the chief officers of State. Surrounded in Dublin by an atmosphere of intrigue[8] and never absolutely sure of the royal support, his position was not an easy one.[9] During the later Middle Ages, Parliaments were held with great frequency in Ireland,[10] but the almost entire extinction of the Anglo-Irish nobility during the

[1] *Cal. Car. MSS.*, IV. 68.

[2] The citizens of Cork "have shut up all their shops, and will suffer nothing to be sold, but secretly for English money, and have torn the proclamation down from their market-place."—Sir Charles Wilmot to Lord Deputy Mountjoy (22 March, 1603), *Cal. Car. MSS.*, IV. 446.

[3] *Cal. S.P.I.* (1601–3), p. 58. For the abuses practised by merchants with regard to the exchange, see *Cal. Car. MSS.*, IV. 410–14; *Cal. S.P.I.* (1601–3), pp. 508–11; Fynes Moryson, *op. cit.*, III. 270.

[4] *Cal. S.P.I.* (1601–3), pp. lxix–lxxi.

[5] *Cal. S.P.I.* (1601–3), pp. 575–81; see an Act against Forging and Counterfeiting of Foreign Coin (28 Eliz., c. 6), *Irish Statutes* (1786), I. 417.

[6] Fynes Moryson, *op. cit.*, III. 281.

[7] Steele, *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, I. cxxx.

[8] "This country passeth all that I ever saw, for ministration of sedition and discord; and they principally delight to put one of us Englishmen in another's neck."—Grey to Cromwell (10 Aug., 1536), *S.P. Hen. VIII*, II. 356.

[9] See Fynes Moryson's remarks on this subject.—C. L. Falkiner, *Illustrns. Irish Hist.*, pp. 236–40.

[10] The first use of the word "parliament" is in a Justiciary Roll of 23 Ed. I, which speaks of the next Parliament of the King at Kilkenny on the 7th January next (1296), as ordained by the King's Common Council at Dublin.—*Cal. Justiciary Rolls, Irel.* p. 73.

Wars of the Roses, and the consequent re-occupation by the "mere" Irish of the country which had up to then acknowledged English law rapidly reduced the importance of the Irish Parliament to a very low point, and by the end of the century hardly four counties acknowledged the English Crown, and ports like Galway were trying cases by Roman Law.[1] At the assembly which conferred the title of "King" upon Henry VIII in 1541, there were present 2 earls, 3 viscounts, 16 barons, 2 archbishops, 12 bishops and certain Irishmen.[2] In Elizabeth's first Parliament of 1559–60, there were 3 archbishops, 17 bishops and 23 temporal peers; 20 counties were represented and 29 boroughs. In the Parliament called by Sir John Perrot in 1585, 22 spiritual and 26 temporal peers were summoned, also 2 members from 27 counties, 4 cities, and 32 boroughs. Certain Irish chiefs were invited to attend, but there was little representation from Ulster owing to the unsettled state of the North.[3]

In a speech made by Sir John Davies in the Irish House of Lords, 21st May, 1613 (which is the first extant attempt at an historical survey of the history of parliamentary institutions in Ireland), he points out that James's first Parliament was the first full representation of the four provinces which had ever assembled.[4]

The government of Munster and Connacht by Presidencies has already been touched upon.[5] The Pale, as the immediate seat of the central government, needed no special administration. Here English law was supposed to be supreme and all subjects to live in peace. As a matter of fact, the territory round Dublin might be counted amongst the worst-governed portions of the Kingdom. If it was not being plundered by the Irish from the mountains, it was subjected to the outrages of ill-disciplined soldiers or overtaxed in the interest of the Crown. The cess was the greatest burden imposed on the Pale. This was an arbitrary imposition which implied a forced levy of victuals and provisions for the use of the garrisons and of the Lord Deputy's household, at "the Queen's price" (which was considerably below that of the market). The Deputy, Sir Henry Sydney, supported the right of the royal prerogative to impose this particular method of taxation, but the gentry of the Pale made a vigorous opposition which was really a protest against the arbitrary methods of the Government.[6] The

[1] Steele, *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, I. cxxviii. [2] See pp. 102–3.

[3] See Falkiner, "The Parl. of Irel. under the Tudor Sovereigns" *Procs. Roy. Ir. Acad.*, xxv. (c) 508, 553.

[4] See p. 387. An Edwardian assembly of the three estates included from 100 to 130 members, of which 50 were knights of the shire and commoners. In Henry VII's time an address (presumably by the peers) is signed by 16 members. The Commons in 1560 numbered 98, in Perrot's Parliament of 1585, 124, and in 1613 the total had grown to 232.—Steele, *Tudor and Stuart Proclms.*, I. cxxviii. [5] See pp. 38, 164–6.

[6] For an account of the controversy which raged over this constitutional question, see the letters of Sir Henry Sydney, pr. in Collins's *Letters and Memorials*, and consult the Index to *Cal. Car. MSS.*, II. and *Cal. S.P.I.* (1574–85).

Anglo-Irish of the Pale were also opposed to the Government on the ground of religion. They held to the Catholic faith and resisted all efforts made for their conversion to Protestantism. The Lord Chancellor wrote to the Privy Council in Feb., 1602, of "this tottering ship of Leinster and the English Pale,"[1] and shortly after it became clear that the Anglo-Irish were becoming increasingly hostile to the Government. The Catholic recusants made a formidable opposition in the Parliament of 1613–15, which foreshadowed the part played by the gentry of the Pale in the rebellion of 1641.

Despite the disturbances of the times, several Englishmen, as distinct from the Anglo-Irish (who had always more or less succumbed to the charm of Irish life), testify to social pleasures enjoyed in Ireland. Spenser is at least upon one occasion to be found in Ludowic Bryskett's cottage near Dublin discoursing with friends upon the "moral virtues" and listening to a treatise upon philosophy.[2] The officers of Elizabeth's army must often have received entertainment at Irish houses such as was provided for them at Lecale in Co. Down in 1602,[3] and other English settlers were presumably as agreeably surprised by the land and people of Ireland as the wife of the English bishop who wrote to her relations in Somersetshire from Londonderry in 1606.[4] Even Barnaby Rich, who gives an unflattering account of the citizens of Dublin,[5] amongst whom he dwelt for many years, declared in the preface to his *New Description of Ireland* (1610) that he "loved" the country. Had he not done so, he explains, he would not have taken up his residence in Ireland nor remained so long there.

CONCLUSION

The fundamental aim of the Tudors in Ireland was to secure a peaceful country which would remain loyal to England in the face of European difficulties. This they hoped to achieve by the introduction of the Reformation and by the breaking-up of the clan system. Incidentally they wished to obtain a revenue from the country, and, influenced by the ideas of sovereignty then current, to subject the people to English law. Henry VIII hoped to win the country by the conciliation of the chiefs and the anglicisation of the masses. The way, however, had not been prepared for a political or a social revolution. The Crown had allowed Irish

[1] *Cal. S.P.I.* (1601–3). p. 297.

[2] See L. Bryskett, *A Discourse of Civil Life* (1606). Bryskett held various Irish offices, including the Secretaryship to the Munster Council. He was a friend of Sir Philip Sydney as well as of Spenser, who had made his acquaintance in Munster and relieved the tedium of his official life by teaching him Greek.

[3] See pp. 216–18.

[4] See pp. 305–7.

[5] See pp. 153 *n.* 1, 357–9.

affairs to drift during the Middle Ages, and in the sixteenth century it reaped the fruit of this policy.[1]

"This I note," wrote Sir John Davies in his *Discovery of the True Causes why Ireland was never entirely Subdued* (1612), "as a great defect in the civil policy of this Kingdom, in that for the space of 350 years at least, after the conquest first attempted, the English laws were not communicated to the Irish, nor the benefit and protection thereof allowed unto them, though they earnestly desired and sought the same, for as long as they were out of the protection of the law, so as every Englishman might oppress, spoil, and kill them without controlment, how was it possible [that] they should be other than outlaws and enemies to the Crown of England?"[2]

Ireland had never been included within the Roman Empire, and had been cut off from full contact from other nations both by her isolated geographical position and by the foreign occupation of her seaport towns. At the beginning of the sixteenth century she still remained a mediæval country. Tribal feeling was very strong, its roots stretched far back into antiquity, and it was practically uninfluenced by the forces, and particularly by the economic forces, that were producing the modern State elsewhere. Some of the more enlightened among Englishmen realised that a foreign culture and legal system should not be imposed, without adequate preparation, upon a people who were in a different stage of development, and who possessed a primitive but dignified civilisation of their own. Spenser, for instance, thought, despite his anti-Irish bias, that "laws ought to be fashioned unto the manners and conditions of the people, to whom they are meant, and not to be imposed upon them according to the simple rule of right,"[3] and Alen, Master of the Rolls in Henry VIII's time, declared: "I would have truth used to them, that they might perceive that we desired more the weal and quiet, than their cattle or goods; for by peace they shall grow wealthy, and then they cannot endure war. I would have them, if I might, be put out of practice of war."[4]

Gradually it was realised, however, that it was hopeless to graft feudal conceptions upon the clan system, and Elizabethan statesmen decided that war was the only satisfactory method by which peace might be obtained. "So beastly are this people," wrote Rokeby, Chief Justice of Connacht, to Cecil in 1570, "that it is not lenity that will win them . . . it must be fire and sword, the rod of God's vengeance. . . . [It must be] valiant and courageous captains and hardy soldiers that must make a way for

[1] "This land is harder to be reformed now than it was to be conquered at the first conquest."—Baron Finglas's "Breviate," pr. in Harris's *Hibernica* (1747), p. 43.

[2] *Discovery*, pp. 116–17.

[3] Spenser, *View* (Globe ed.), p. 613.

[4] *S.P. Hen. VIII*, II. 491.

law and justice, or else farewell to Ireland." [1] And again Sir Richard Bingham wrote in 1589: "This dalliance with these rebels makes them most insolent, and without the sword be now and then severely used, it is impossible to govern the Irish people." [2] Such sentiments were incompatible with the ideas of Henry VIII or of St. Leger; they had been aroused by the difficulties of Irish government. The mistakes of the mediæval period were perpetuated under Elizabeth. The war was much too protracted, and the Government was erratic. No Deputy remained quite long enough in office to impress his personality thoroughly upon the Government. All were hampered by intrigues both in Dublin and London. The policy of anglicisation, in both its religious and social aspects, was forced continuously upon the people despite the incessant round of rebellion and war. "It is in vain," remonstrated Spenser, "to speak of planting of laws, and plotting of policies, till they (the Irish) are altogether subdued." [3] Contemporary writers condemn the frequent giving of pardons and protections to the Irish,[4] and the long-drawn-out negotiations with the chiefs, which merely encouraged them in rebellion and gave them an opportunity to obtain supplies of money and ammunition from abroad. The war developed into a vested interest moreover, not only for the towns which made money out of it, but for English officials who hoped to obtain Irish estates. The adherents of the Crown were not sufficiently encouraged or protected against their enemies, and the worst feature of English policy was that of setting Irishmen against each other in the hope of mutual destruction.[5]

Those who judge the events of history by modern standards will find much besides to criticise in Tudor policy. The clumsy handling of the Irish customs, the lack of faith too often displayed in dealing with the enemy, the immorality shown in such incidents as that of the capture of Hugh O'Donnell,[6] or the frequent attempts to assassinate chieftains who stood in the way of Government designs.[7] "Prudent management is always better than force" and "A nation is not governed which has perpetually to be conquered." [8] It should be remembered, however, that English rule in Ireland in the sixteenth century was influenced throughout by the ideas then current in Europe with regard to the government of the dependencies and subject peoples. The Government desire to draw the people

[1] Froude, *Hist. of England*, X. 513–4. [2] *Cal. S.P.I.* (1588–92), p. 205.
[3] *View*, p. 614. [4] See Rich, *New Description* (1610) ch. 24.
[5] "I am with all the wild Irish at the same point I am at with bears and bandogs when I see them fight; so that they fight earnestly indeed and tug the other well, I care not who have the worst."—Lord Justice Arnold to Cecil (Jan., 1565), *Journ. Roy. Soc. Antiqs. Irel.* (1858), IV. 96.
[6] See pp. 176–7.
[7] *Cal. Car. MSS.*, IV. 241, 350–1; *Cal. S.P.I.* (1600–1), xxxviii; Bagwell, *op cit.*, II. 64.
[8] Edmund Burke, Speech on "Conciliation with America," 22nd March, 1775.

to "civility," i.e. to modernise their customs and to introduce the Protestant faith, was, for example, thoroughly typical of the age. There was a good deal of hypocrisy in the English attitude towards Ireland, but an idealistic element can be found in individual writers and some of the official documents show a genuine desire for Irish prosperity. English policy was often perforce guided by circumstances and by the practical difficulties of the situation.

The extracts which follow are chosen mainly to illustrate the course of English rule throughout the period of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. They show Ireland at the beginning of Henry VIII's reign in a condition of anarchy which must have been unparalleled in Western Europe, they leave her conquered for the first time in her history, her old customs dissolved, and her leaders vanquished.

The Irish point of view has not been neglected in the choice of documents. The claims of Irish nationalism could not be expected to receive much sympathy at the hands of sixteenth-century English writers, but some of them were prepared to face facts. "The Irish do strongly hate and abhor all reformation and subjection to the English," wrote Spenser, "by reason that, having been once subdued by them, they were thrust out of all their possessions. So as now they fear, that if they were again brought under, they should likewise be expelled out of all, which is the cause that they hate the English Government." [1]

The period under consideration is in some respects the most significant in Irish history. Up to the end of the sixteenth century, Irish resistance was generally local, and the ambitions of the chieftains, with the exception of the Earl of Tyrone, dynastic. Henceforth the English Government had to reckon with a greatly intensified national feeling produced by the Tudor introduction of the Reformation and the wholesale confiscation of Irish land. Moreover, the fact that the process of anglicisation, enforced by English rulers, failed to bring in its train any substantial economic advantages to the Irish people, doubtless had its influence on the subsequent course of Anglo-Irish relations.

[1] *View*, p. 649.

PART I

THE IRISH POLICY OF HENRY VIII

I. ACCOUNTS OF THE STATE OF IRELAND (1515 AND 1533)

[" State of Ireland, and Plan for its Reformation " (1515). *State Papers, Hen. VIII.* (1534), II. 1–31.]

WHO list make surmise to the King for the reformation of his land of Ireland, it is necessary to show him the state of all the noble folk of the same, as well of the King's subjects and English rebels, as of Irish enemies. And first of all, to make his Grace understand that there be more than 60 countries, called regions, in Ireland, inhabited with the King's Irish enemies; some regions as big as a shire, some more, some less, unto a little; some as big as half a shire, and some a little less; where reigneth more than 60 chief captains, whereof some calleth themselves kings, some king's peers, in their language, some princes, some dukes, some archdukes, that liveth only by the sword, and obeyeth to no other temporal person, but only to himself that is strong: and every of the said captains maketh war and peace for himself, and holdeth by sword, and hath imperial jurisdiction within his " room," [1] and obeyeth to no other person, English or Irish, except only to such persons, as may subdue him by the sword: of which regions, and captains of the same, the names followeth immediate.

[*Here follow the names of the chiefs of the Irish clans.* (1) **Ulster**:—*O'Neill, O'Donnell, O'Cahan, O'Dogherty, Maguire, Magennis, O'Hanlon, MacMahon.* (2) **Leinster**:—*McMurrough Kavanagh, O'Byrne, O'Murrough, O'Toole, O'Nolan, McGilpatrick, O'More, O'Dempsey, O'Connor (Offaly), O'Dunne.* (3) **Desmond**, i.e. **S.W. Munster**:—*MacCarthy Mór, McTeague, O'Donaghue, O'Sullivan (Beare), O'Connor (Kerry), MacCarthy Reagh, O'Driscoll, O'Mahon.* (4) **Thomond**, i.e. **N.W. Munster**:—*O'Brien, O'Kennedy, O'Carrol, O'Meagher, MacMahon, O'Connor (Corcomroe), O'Loughlin, O'Grady, O'Brien (Arra), O'Mulrian, O'Dwyer, McBrien.* (5) **Connacht**:—*O'Connor Roe, O'Kelley, O'Madden, O'Farrell, O'Reilly, O'Rourke, McDonough, MacDermot, O'Gara, O'Flagherty, O'Malley, O'Hara, O'Dowda, McDonaghue, O'Connor (Sligo).* (6) **County of Meath**:—*O'Melaghlin, McGeoghegan, O'Mulloy.*[2]]

[1] i.e. territory. The names of the Irish districts are given in this document. Where the State Paper versions of place names are too corrupt for identification, the student

Also, the son of any of the said captains shall not succeed to his father, without he be the strongest of all his nation; for there shall be none chief captain in any of the said regions by lawful succession, but by fort main [1] and election; and he, that hath strongest army and hardest sword among them, hath best right and title; and by reason thereof, there be but few of the said regions that be in peace within themselves, but commonly rebelleth alway against their chief captain. Also, in every of the said regions there be divers petty captains, and every of them maketh war and peace for himself, without licence of the chief captain. Also, every of the said regions is divided and departed betwixt the chief captain and deputy captains of the same, and of them delivereth their lands to their men for meat, drink and wages, nothing receiving therefore, but their service daily at their own cost, and certain custom in meat and drink, as at Christmas and Easter, and as oft as great strangers cometh to the captain.

Also, as oft as any of the said captains maketh any great cost for the common weal of his "room" (territory), that cost shall be cessed equally on all his men and subjects of his "room," and that is all the rent that they payeth to their captain for their lands; and so every of the said captains laboureth daily, by all the means that they can, whereby he may be most strong of men. . . .

Also, there is more than 30 great captains of the English noble folk, that followeth the same Irish order . . . and every of them maketh war and peace for himself, without any licence of the King, or of any other temporal person, save to him that is strongest, and of such that may subdue them by the sword. Their names follow immediate :—

The Earl of Desmond, Lord of the County of Kerry; the Knight of the County of Kerry; [2] Fitzmaurice of the County of Kerry; Sir Thomas of Desmond, Kt.; Sir John of Desmond, Kt.; Sir Gerald of Desmond, Kt.; the Lord Barry; the Lord Roche; the young Lord Barry; the Lord Courcey; the Lord Cogan; the Lord Barrett; the White Knight; [3] the Knight of the Valley; [4] Sir Gerald of Desmond's sons of the County Waterford; the Powers of the County of Waterford; Sir William Burke, Kt. of the County of Limerick; Sir Pierce Butler, Kt., and all the captains of the Butlers of the County of Kilkenny and of the County of Fethard. [5]

will find it useful to consult Hogan's *Onomasticon Goedelicum*; Lewis's *Topogr. Dictionary*; the Index to the *Four Masters*, and the Topogr. Index to the *Census of Ireland* (1901). See also Lane-Poole's *Hist. Atlas*, Plate xxx, and facsimile reproductions of contemporary maps in Sir J. Gilbert's *Facsimiles of Nat. MSS. Ireland.*

[1] i.e. the policy of the strong hand. [2] A member of the Fitzgerald family.
[3] Another Fitzgerald. His lands lay in the counties of Tipperary and Cork.
[4] Also a Fitzgerald. He had a territory on the south of the Shannon in Limerick.
[5] In south-east Tipperary.

Here followeth the names of English great rebels in Connacht :—

The Lord Burke of "Connyke Ghowle" ;[1] the Lord Burke of Clanrickarde ;[2] the Lord Bermingham of Athenry ; Sir Myles Stanton's sons ; Sir Jordan Dexter's sons ; the Lord Nangle ; Sir Walter Barrett's sons, of Tirawley.[3]

Here followeth the names of the great English rebels of Ulster :—

Sir Rowland Savage of Lecale ;[4] Fitzalan of "Tuscarde ;[4] FitzJohn Bissett of the Glynnes (glens).[5]

Hereafter followeth the names of the English captains of the County of Meath that obey not the King's law :—

The Dillons ; the Daltons ; the Tyrrells ; the Delamares.

Here followeth the names of the counties that obey not the King's laws, and have neither justice nor sheriffs under the King :—

The county of Waterford, the county of Cork, the county of Kilkenny, the county of Limerick, the county of Kerry, the county of Connacht, the county of Ulster, the county of Carlow, half the county of Uriel,[6] half the county of Meath,[7] half the county of Dublin, half the county of Kildare, half the county of Wexford.

All the English folk of the said counties be of Irish habit, of Irish language, and of Irish conditions, except the cities and the walled towns. Also, all the English folk of the said counties, for the more part, would be right glad to obey the King's laws, if they might be defended by the King of the Irish enemies ; and because he defend them not, and the King's Deputy may not defend them, therefore they are all turned from the obeisance of the King's laws, and live by the sword, after the manner of the Irish enemies ; and though that many of them obey the King's Deputy, when it pleaseth them, yet there is none of them all, that obeyeth the King's laws.

Here followeth the names of the counties subject unto the King's laws :—

Half the county of Uriel,[8] by estimation, half the county of Meath,[9] half the county of Dublin, half the county of Kildare, half the county of Wexford.

All the common people of the said half counties, that obeyeth the King's laws, for the more part be of Irish birth, of Irish habit, and of Irish language.

Here followeth the name of the English counties, that bear tribute to the wild Irish :—

The barony of Lecale in the county of Ulster, to the captain of Claneboy,[10] payeth yearly £40, or else to [the] O'Neill, whichever

[1] Possibly a corruption of Conmhaicne Cúile, barony of Kilmaine in Co. Mayo.
[2] In Co. Galway.
[3] In north-east Mayo.
[4] In Co. Down.
[5] In Co. Antrim.
[6] Monaghan.
[7] Westmeath.
[8] Louth.
[9] The present Co. of Meath.
[10] O'Neill of Claneboy, in the south-west of Antrim and north of Down.

of them be strongest. The county of Uriel payeth yearly to the great O'Neill[1] £40. The county of Meath payeth yearly to O'Connor (of Offaly) £300. The county of Kildare payeth yearly to the said O'Connor £20. The King's Exchequer payeth yearly to McMurrough 80 marks. The county of Wexford payeth yearly to McMurrough and to Art O'Boy[2] £40. The county of Kilkenny and the county of Tipperary pay yearly to O'Carrol £40. The county of Limerick payeth yearly to O'Brien (of Arra) in English money £40. The same county of Limerick payeth yearly to the Great O'Brien (of Toybrien) in English money £40. The county of Cork to Cormack McTeague payeth yearly in English money £40.

Summa £740.

Also, there is no folk daily subject to the King's laws, but half the county of Uriel, half the county of Meath, half the county of Dublin, half the county of Kildare; and there be as many Justices of the King's Bench, and of the Common Pleas, and as many Barons of the Exchequer, and as many officers, ministers, and clerks in every of the said county, as ever there was, when all the land for the more part was subject to the law.

Wherefore the said subjects be so grievously vexed daily with the said courts, that they be glad to sell their freeholds for ever, rather than to suffer alway the vexation of the said courts, like as the freeholders of the marches, where the King's laws be not obeyed, be so vexed by extortion, that they be glad in likewise to sell their lands and freeholds to such persons, that compelleth them, by means of extortion, to make alienation thereof, rather than alway to bear and be under the said extortion. And so, what with the extortion of coyne and livery[3] daily, and with the wrongful exaction of hosting money, and of carriage and cartage daily, and with the King's great subsidy yearly, and with the said tribute, and black rent to the King's Irish enemies, and other infinite extortions and daily exactions, all the English folk of the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Meath and Uriel be more oppressed, than any other folk of this land, English or Irish, and of worse condition be they either side, than in the marches.

What common folk in all this world may compare with the commons of England, in riches, in freedom, in liberty, welfare and in all prosperity? . . . What common folk in all this world is so poor, so feeble, so ill-beseen in town and field, so bestial, so greatly oppressed and trod under foot, and fared so ill, with so great misery, and with so wretched life, as the common folk of Ireland? . . . The King's army in England is the commons; the King's army

[1] i.e. of Tyrone.
[2] A younger branch of the McMurroughs.
[3] Refection for men and horses. See p. 61 *n.* 1.

in Ireland is all such that oppress the commons. . . . The noble folk of Ireland oppresseth, spoileth the prelates of the Church of Christ of their possessions and liberties; and therefore they have no fortune, nor grace, in prosperity of body or soul. Who supporteth the Church of Christ in Ireland, save the poor commons? . . . The premises considered, the Pandar [1] sheweth in the first chapter of his book, called *Salus Populi*, that the holy woman, Brigitta, used to enquire of her good angel many questions of secret divine, and among all other, she enquired, "Of what Christian land was most souls damned?" The angel shewed her a land in the west part of the world . . . for there is most continual war, root of hate and envy, and of vices contrary to charity; and without charity the souls cannot be saved. And the angel did shew to her the lapse of the souls of Christian folk of that land, how they fell down into hell, as thick as any hail showers. And pity thereof moved the Pandar to consign his said book, as in the said chapter plainly doth appear; for after his opinion, this is the land that the angel understood; for, there is no land in this world of so long continual war within himself, nor of so great shedding of Christian blood, nor of so great robbing, spoiling, preying and burning, nor of so great wrongful extortion continually, as Ireland. Wherefore it cannot be denied by very estimation of man, but that the angel did understand the land of Ireland.

Also, it is a proverb of old date, "The pride of France, the treason of England, and the war of Ireland, shall never have end." Which proverb, touching the war of Ireland, is like alway to continue, without God set in men's breasts to find some new remedy, that never was found before.

What might the King do more, than he hath done? He did conquer all the land, unto little, and did inhabit the same with English folk, subject to his laws after the manner of England, and so the land did continue and prosper an hundred years and more; and since, the land hath grown and increased, near on two hundred years, in rebellion against the King and his laws.

Many folk doth enquire the cause, why that the Irish folk be grown so strong, and the King's subjects so feeble, and fallen in so great rebellion, for the more part. . . .

Some saith, the King is cause of all the war and rebellion of all the lands, and of all the vices and evil deeds that groweth of the same, because he beareth the cure and the charge temporal, under God, of all the lands, and in this two hundred years he hath been reckless thereof, and did not look thereto, nor cast his eye thereon; and in default thereof, the land is, as it is.

[1] Pandarus, the author of a book entitled *Salus Populi*, lived in the latter half of the fifteenth century. See Ware, *Writers of Ireland* (ed. Harris, 1764), p. 90.

Some say that the King hath had work enough in hand with the wars of France, and of divers other lands, and also to cease rebellion within the Realm of England, that in this two hundred years he could not attend to aid, or support, his subjects of this land. And notwithstanding his said great trouble with other lands, he did send oftentimes his great army into this land, to his great cost and charge, that alway after their long abiding here, did resort homeward without remedy, and alway left the land in worse case, than ever they found it; which cost and charge the King hath practised so often, without remedy, that he is right weary thereof; and if he might understand the means, whereby his labour and costs should prosper and increase, and not be lost in vain, he would be glad to put him in great "devoyre" (endeavour) to aid his subjects, and reform his lands. . . .

Some say, the King's Deputy is cause, that all the said common people be so poor, so feeble, and so Irish; for where sometime, in our days, the King's Deputy used always to have about him, wherever that he did ride, a strong guard on horseback of spears and bows, well garnished, after the English manner, that paid truly for their meat and drink, wherever they did ride; now guard of the King's Deputy is none other, but a multitude of Irish gallowglass, and a multitude of Irish kerne and spears, with infinite number of horse lads; and with the said guard, the King's Deputy is ever moving and stirring from one place to another, and with extortion of coyne and livery consumeth and devoureth all the substance of the poor folk, and of the common people of all the King's subjects.

Some saith, the King's Deputy useth to make so many great "rodes," journeys and hostings (hostile incursions), now in the north parts of Ulster, now in the south parts of Munster, now into the west parts of Connacht, and taketh the King's subjects with him by compulsion, in times with a fortnight's victual, and ofttimes victual for 3 or 4 weeks, and constraineth and chargeth the poor common people with all the carriage of the same, and giveth licence to all the noble folk, for the more part, to cess and rear all their costs on the common people, and on the King's poor subjects; and the "fyne" (end) of that great journey and hosting commonly is no other in effect, but that the Deputy useth to receive a reward of 100 or 200 kine to himself, and so depart, without any more hurt to the King's enemies, after that he hath turned the King's subjects and the poor common folk to their charge and costs, by estimation of 2,000 or 3,000 pounds. And over that, the Deputy in his progress and regress, oppresseth the King's poor common folk with horse meat and man's meat to all his host, except the port towns and 4 of the noble folk within the English Pale.

And this is that thing, as many saith, that most hurteth the

poor towns, and the King's poor subjects, and the common folk. And over all that, in summer, when grass is most plenty, they must have oats, or malt, to their horse, at will, or else money therefore.

The premises considered, some saith, the King's Deputy, by extortion, chargeth the King's poor subjects and common folk, in horse meat and man's meat, by estimation, to the value of £100 every day in the year, one day counted with another, which cometh to the sum of £36,000 yearly. . . .

Some saith, also, because the Deputy useth the said wrongful extortion, all the noble folk of the land "shoot at" him (i.e. aim at imitating), following his ways in that behalf, as much as in them is. . . .

Some saith, that the prelates of the Church, and clergy, is much cause of all the misorder of the land; for there is no archbishop, nor bishop, abbot, nor prior, parson, nor vicar, nor any other person of the Church, high or low, great or small, English or Irish, that useth to preach the word of God, saving the poor friars beggars; and where word of God do cease, there can be no grace, and without the special [grace] of God, this land may never be reformed; and by preaching and teaching of prelates of the Church, and by prayer and orison of the devout persons of the same, God useth alway to grant his abundant grace; ergo, the Church not using the premises, is much cause of all the said misorder of this land. . . .

The Pandar sayeth, that if this land were put once in order, as aforesaid,[1] it would be none other but a very Paradise, delicious of all pleasance, in respect and regard of any other land in this world; inasmuch as there was never stranger nor alien person, great or small, that would avoid "therefrom" by his will, notwithstanding the said misorder, if he might [have] the means to dwell therein, his honesty saved; much more would be his desire, if the land were once put in order.

["Instructions ministered by the King's Council in Ireland to John Alen, Master of the Rolls" (1533). *S.P. Hen. VIII*, II. 162-3.]

First, ye shall instruct the King's Highness of the great decay of this land, which is so far fallen into misery, and brought into such ruin, that neither the English order, tongue, nor habit be used,

[1] The main features of the plan for the "reformation of Ireland" given in this document are: That all the King's subjects should be provided with arms and taught how to use them. Lords of Irish countries, subject to the King, to hold their lands from him and to attend Parliament. These are also to act as justices of the peace within their territories, and to send their children to receive an English education in the towns. No one is to be without a craft or a master. Coyne and livery is to cease. Land is to be cultivated, and a large portion of Ulster, the most independent of the provinces, is to be planted with English.

neither the King's laws obeyed, above 20 miles in compass; so as in default of the execution of the King's laws and lack of good governance, the King's jurisdiction and obedience is brought to such a mischief, as, except it shall please the King's Highness to redress the same, the little place (the Pale) being now obedient, shall be shortly brought to the same case as the residue is.

Item, the beginning and the ending of the decay of this land groweth by the immoderate taking of coyne and livery,[1] without order, after men's own sensual appetites . . . taking of "canes" (fines) for felonies, murders, and all other offences. . . .

Item, one other decay of this land is in default of English inhabitants, which, in times past, were archers, and had feats of war, and good servants in their houses, for defence of the country in time of necessity. Since that time, the inheritors of the land of the Englishry have admitted to be their tenants those of the Irishry, which can live hardily, without bread, or other good victuals; and some, for lucre, to have of them more rent, and some, for other impositions, than English husband[men] be able to give (together with the oppression of coyne and livery) have expelled them; and so is all the country in effect, made Irish, and without trust and security of defence, good order or hospitality.

Item, by the relation of ancient men, in times past, within remembrance, all the English lords and gentles within the Pale, heretofore kept retinues of English yeomen in their houses, after the English fashion, according the extent of their lands, to the great strength and succour of their neighbours, the King's subjects. And now, for the more part, they keep horsemen and knaves, which live upon the King's subjects, and not in their houses, and keep, in manner, no hospitality, but live all upon the poor people.

Item, liberties of the temporal lords of this land hath been, and be, much prejudicial to the King, and the weal of the land; for that by the means of the abuse of them, the King hath lost the due obedience and strength of the inhabitants of the same, and his regalities and revenues there.

Item, the black rents and tributes, which Irishmen, by violence, hath obtained of the King's subjects, is a great mischief; whereby they [have] been enriched and strengthened, and the others greatly enfeebled. And yet, when the Deputies go upon Irishmen, by the aid of the King's subjects, for redress of their nightly and daily robberies, they keep all they get to their own use, and restore nothing to the poor people.

Item, another hurt is, the committing the governance of this land to the lords, native of the same; and the often change of Deputies.

Item, the negligent keeping of the King's records; by mean whereof, and that the King, and commonly his Deputies,

[1] See p. 61 *n.* 1.

grant clerk's offices of the Four Courts to persons unlearned, or not expert in the same, which cannot exercise such "rooms" (offices), the King's courts and revenues be greatly decayed, and his records "imbecilde" (embezzled) and his inheritance and right thereby unknown.

Item, one of the greatest hurts is, that the King hath lost and given away his manors, lordships, fee farms, customs, and other his revenues, so as he hath not now whereof to maintain a Deputy for defence of his subjects.[1]

II. AN ANGLO-IRISH LORD

[The Earl of Kildare's Account of the "Misdemeanour of the Earl of Ormonde" (1525). *S.P. Hen. VIII*, II. 120–3.]

Whereas the said Commissioners, by the advice of the King's Council here, ordered that the said Earl of Ormonde should take no coyne or livery[2] of any of the King's subjects, other than of his own tenants, without the consents of the givers thereof, the same consents to be approved by the said Council; which notwithstanding, the said Earl hath since continually taken coyne and livery of all the King's subjects within the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary not only for his horsemen, kerne and gallowglass,[3] but also for his masons, carpenters, tailors, being in his own works, and also for his sundry hunts . . . all at the charges of the King's subjects, meat, drink and money; the whole charges whereof surmounteth 2,000 marks by year.

Item, whereas the said Commissioners indented with the King's said Deputy, that he should not, to his power, suffer any to occupy the King's manors and lands without his Grace's letters patent on the same; the said Earl of Ormonde hath ever since occupied the manors of Callan, within the counties of Kilkenny and Kilmore, and other lands in the county of Tipperary, to the yearly value of £60, to his own use, without any patent, or other authority; and, besides this, usurpeth on all the King's royal jurisdiction within the said two counties, taking all the King's escheats, fines, forfeitures, and all other casualties there, as his own. . . .

Item, whereas the late Bishop of Leighlin was heinously

[1] Among other reforms the following were suggested:—centralisation of military authority; the abolition of black rents; prohibition of private contracts with Irishmen; a resumption of the King's revenues; the appointment of an English Deputy who would be independent of Irish factions.

[2] See p. 61 n. 1.

[3] The gallowglass, who were more heavily armed than the kerne (Ir. *ceithearnach*, foot soldier), were originally either the foreign mercenaries employed by the Irish chiefs, or Irish soldiers armed in imitation of the Normans. Both were foot soldiers. Ir. *gall-óglach*, foreign soldier. See pp. 220–2.

murdered by the Abbot of Duiske's son, being the said Earl of Ormonde's nigh kinsman, for that intent the said Abbot might have enjoyed that bishopric; at the which murder there was 3 of the same Earl's servants, for the which he hath not as yet punished them. . . .

Item, the servants of the said Earl of Ormonde did burn, rob, and spoil a town of the said Deputy's, called Levitstown, within the county of Kildare, where they cruelly murdered and burned 17 men and women . . . and took with them goods of the value of £200; and, this notwithstanding, the said Earl kept them still in his service, he knowing burning, and wilful murder, to be treason by statute here. . . .

Item, all the churches, for the more part, within the said counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, are in such extreme decay, by provision, that in manner, there is no divine service kept there, and shall be well proved, that few or none laboureth to the Apostle for any benefice there, without the consent of the said Earl, or my Lady his wife, by whom he is only ruled, which are the very maintainers of all such provision; in so much as they lately maintain[ed] certain provisors against the said Earl's son being Archbishop of Cashel, contrary to the King's letters directed in the favours of the said Archbishop: so as, and if the King's Grace do not see for the hasty remedy of the same, there is like to be no more Christianity there, than in the midst of Turkey.[1]

III. RULE OF THE EARL OF KILDARE

(1) Grant to Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare (1513). [*Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII,* I, No. 4588.]

To be Deputy of Ireland, during pleasure, with power to appoint all officers, except the Chancellor and Chief Justice of the King's Bench, etc., in as ample a manner as Sir Edward Poynings[2] held the office; with grant of all possessions he shall recover from rebels in Ireland.—Windsor Castle, 26th *Nov.*, 5 *Hen. VIII.*

(2) Report to Cromwell (1533).[3] [*S.P. Hen. VIII,* II. 175–6.]

The committing of the governance of that land to such as be native of the same, hath been one of the most decays of the King's revenues, diminution of his jurisdiction and strength, and the

[1] The Earls of Kildare were the hereditary enemies of the Earls of Ormonde, but the general character of this indictment is borne out elsewhere. See the presentments of juries of the county and city of Kilkenny, etc., pr. in the *Annuary of the Kilkenny Archæol. Soc.* (1869), ed. Hore and Graves. For similar misdemeanours of Lords of the Pale, see *S.P. Hen. VIII,* II. 477–80. Also *Cal. Car. MSS.*, III. 71; Ware's *Antiquities* (ed. Harris), ch. XII:

[2] Poynings became Deputy in 1494. His main task was the extirpation of the Yorkist party in Ireland.

[3] The author of this Report is unknown.

impoverishment of his subjects, and the continuance of the same, by all conjectures, in conclusion shall put the King from any rule or dominion there; for affirmation whereof, because I will not be seen to write nothing, but that which shall be so nigh to knowledge, that the contrary argument shall have no place, let the King's records, in Henry VI's and Edward IV's days (since which time hitherto the great and long continuance of the King's authority hath been in the Earl of Kildare, and his father) be searched, and [let it be] seen what revenues the King had then in Ireland; also what lands, castles, and towns he had in possession; what surety of strength; what English inhabitation and order, with obedience of the law: then consider how it is now; and if so it be, both the English inhabitants, tongue and order, with the obedience of the law, in manner be exiled, the King's revenues and lands almost lost, and the King destitute of surety of any strength, and the same done by Deputies of that country (for I dare excuse English Deputies) it is an evident proof of my principle.

Supposing it to be somewhat late to ponder this matter, but yet better now too late, than tarry longer, and have it worse. For undoubtedly, as far as ever I could hear of others, or in mine own time perceive or know, the Earl of Kildare, and his father, have principally devised to have the land in such trouble, that the King should have small affection or regard to it. . . . Such of that land as be Deputies, they study nothing that should be profitable, or honourable to the King, but all to the contrary; and to make themselves strong by banding with Irishmen, to the intent that, afterward, they will be so strong, that no other Deputy shall rule, but at their pleasure. Likewise as the Earl of Kildare, by the continuance of the King's authority in him and his father, hath banded himself on such wise, that if the King make any other Deputy but him, all the land shall be disordered; so as the King must depend upon his pleasure, and not he upon the King's.

IV. THE LORD DEPUTY ADVISES AN IRISH CONQUEST

Letter of the Earl of Surrey[1] to Henry VIII (June, 1521). [*S.P. Hen. VIII*, II. 73–5.]

After my poor opinion, this land shall never be brought to good order and due subjection, but only by conquest; which is, at your Grace's pleasure, to be brought to pass two manner of ways. One way is, if your Grace will one year set on hand to win one country, and another year, another country, and so continue, till all at length be won. After my opinion, the least number

[1] Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey and third Duke of Norfolk.

that your Grace must occupy, can be no less than 2,500; for it is not to be doubted, that whensoever the Irishmen shall know that your Grace intendeth a conquest, they will all combine together, and withstand the same to the best of their power. And over and above their own power, undoubtedly they may have three or four thousand Irish Scots,[1] whensoever, and as often as they will call for them; and they be not distant from the north parts of this land, four hours' sailing. Also I think the Earl of Argyll, and divers others of those we call English Scots, will come, if they be desired.

And if your Grace will, in more brief time, have your purpose brought to pass, and to set upon the conquest in divers places, at one time; then, after my poor opinion, 6,000 men is the least number that your Grace must occupy. But to advertise your Grace, in how many years either the one number, or the other, should accomplish and perfect the conquest, the matter is so high and uncertain, that I dare not meddle therewith. Undoubtedly this land is five times as much as Wales; and when King Edward I set on hand to conquer the same, it cost him ten years or he won it all. Wherefore, considering the long time he was in conquering the same, and for the most part being present in his own person, and no sea being between England and Wales, as is between England and this land, I fear, and cannot believe it will be so soon won, as Wales was. For undoubtedly, the countries here be as strong, or stronger, as Wales, and the inhabitants of the same can and do live more hardily, than any other people, after my opinion, in Christendom or Turkey. Whereof a part Master Peche hath seen, and can inform your Grace more largely, as he hath heard by the report of others; who hath not only, since his coming hither, taken continual pains in riding about with me, but also continually searched to attain to the knowledge of the state and manner of this land, and disposition of the people of the same; and, as I think, can more assuredly ascertain your Grace of the same, than any man that ever came hither, that continued no longer here, than he hath done.

Also, if it shall like your Grace to set on hand with the said conquest, your Grace must furnish the most part of the number with victuals, and carriage for the same, out of England, or some other countries; for here is much to do, to furnish this company that is now here. And ever, as the countries shall fortune to be won, strong towns and fortresses must be builded upon the same.

And after my poor opinion, unless your Grace send inhabitants, of your own natural subjects, to inhabit such countries as shall be won, all your charges should be but wastefully spent. For if this country's people, of the Irish, should inhabit, undoubtedly they

[1] See p. 46.

would return to their old ill-rooted customs, whensoever they might see any time to take their advantage, according as they have ever yet done, and daily do. And if all the people of this land should be compelled to fall to labour (which they will never do, as long as they may find any country in the land to go unto), yet, after my opinion, there should not be found number sufficient to inhabit well the third part of the land.

And how few English inhabitants be now within these four shires (of the Pale), Master Peche can inform your Grace, for he hath seen a good part thereof. And if your Grace should inhabit such countries, as should be won, with Spaniards, Flemings, "Almaynes" (Germans), or any other nation, save only your own natural subjects, I fear, at length, they will rather be obedient to the prince of their native country, than to any other. The premises considered, after my poor opinion, the difficulty to conquer this land resteth in these three articles ensuing :—

First, to furnish the army, that your Grace will have here, with money, until the conquest be perfected.

Secondly, how to furnish the said number with victuals, and carriage for the said victuals, ordnance, artillery, and all other stuff that must be occupied in building of strong fortresses.

Thirdly, how to find inhabitants in sufficient number, that will continue true subjects to your Grace, and your noble succession.

V. IRISH NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE EMPEROR[1]

(1) An Envoy from the Earl of Desmond. [Thomas Batcock[2] to . . . . *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, IV. (ii), No. 4878.]

On the 16th instant a ship came to San Sebastian, from Ireland with four Irishmen. The chief man, named Sherek, a big man of person, is a great ruler, and holds a high place with the Earl of Desmond. He has brought hawks, and two brace of greyhounds to the Emperor, and letters of credence. His master and other gentles of Ireland desire the Emperor to take him and them as his subjects, because the King (Henry VIII) does not

[1] Desmond had negotiated with Francis I in 1523, and concluded a treaty by which he engaged to make war against Henry VIII as soon as a French army should land in Ireland. Francis never took any steps to put the treaty into execution, and the Irish transferred their allegiance to the Emperor after the divorce of Queen Catherine. Charles V had apparently no serious intention of sending an army to Ireland, especially when his envoy Fernandez reported that Desmond had no influence in Dublin, and that his enemies outnumbered his allies. He merely wished to frighten Henry VIII by stirring up sedition amongst his subjects.

[2] Batcock was an Englishman who lived in Spain, and was evidently a spy. He heard this news from Spaniards in Bilboa. See *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, IV. (ii), No. 4911.

administer justice, and because their first progeny came from Spain.[1] They ask for handguns, artillery and powder. Sherek is gone to the Emperor at Toledo. Does not think he will be shortly dispatched. When he returns will find out what he has concluded.

THE RENDRE (RENTERIA),
16 *Oct.*, 1528.

(2) Instructions given by the King of Spain to his Chaplain, Gonzalo Fernandez, sent to treat with the Earl of Desmond (24 Feb., 1529). [*Cal. Carew MSS.*, I. 42–3.]

You shall proceed with all haste to the place where the Earl is, and give him the letter which you carry for your credence. Some time ago an official of his household, named Galfrigidus, came to our Court, and delivered us a letter from him. He acquainted us with the Earl's desire for our friendship, and stated that his friends would be friends of our friends and foes of our foes. He requested us to send thither a trustworthy person, to learn the Earl's intention and power, and the means with which he could treat with me. Accordingly I send you to the Earl, for these purposes. He will find me disposed to do all I can for him and his friends. You shall learn what are his forces, and how he can employ them; and what he desires me to do on my part.

As to his request that we should comprehend him in any treaty between us and the King of England, you shall inform him that, although we have always endeavoured to continue in friendship with that King, he has nevertheless declared himself against me, in favour of the King of France my enemy, and has sent us a defiance; and that beguiled by evil persuasions, he is endeavouring to divorce himself from the Queen our aunt, his lawful wife, and to give the "ducado" (duchy) of Ireland to a bastard son of his; which we can in no wise suffer, as it is to the prejudice of the Princess, his only daughter and heir. We shall oppose it by all possible means, and trust the Earl will aid us with all his forces. We promise to include him in any treaty we make with the King of England.

TOLEDO, 24 *Feb.*, 1529.

[Original in *Spanish.*]

(3) Report of Gonzalo Fernandez to Charles V (28 April, 1529). [*L. and P. Hen. VIII*, IV. (iii), No. 5501.]

The 21st April, I disembarked at Dingle, and was well received by all the town, and by some knights despatched by the Earl to meet me. In four hours came the Earl himself, with about 500

[1] The Milesians, who were supposed to have come from Spain to Ireland, were among the legendary founders of the Irish race. For some criticism of Irish legendary origins, see J. MacNeill, *Celtic Ireland* and *Phases of Irish History*.

horse and as many halberdiers. . . . He asked after the Emperor, who, I told him, was well, and sent commendations to him. We then banqueted upon the ground; after which the Earl and I withdrew with some of his Council into my chamber. Being asked to declare my credence, I gave it to the Earl in English, and afterwards by his desire declared it to his Council in Latin; viz., that the Earl's servant, Galfrigidus, having lately brought letters from him to the Emperor, expressing his desire to enter into strict amity with his Majesty, in which he agreed to hold as friends or enemies whomsoever the Emperor bade him, and desiring that the Emperor should send someone to arrange the terms, the writer had been sent accordingly.

On this the Earl talked awhile with his Council; then took off his bonnet, and expressed his gratitude to the Emperor, who had sent me to protect him, saying that his Majesty was placed in the world to prevent one prince from injuring another. He desired to consult how he might do his Majesty service in these countries, and began to tell me about his lineage, and the enmity his ancestors had borne to England, and the cause of it. I assured him of the aid and favour of the Emperor, and desired that he would put in writing what he had said about his lineage, and the cause of their enmity to England. . . . We then talked of the amount of aid he desired of the Emperor, when he asked for four great vessels of 200 tons, and six smaller ones, with artillery, and 500 Flemings in them. I shewed him this would not be reasonable, unless he first shewed what service he could do the Emperor. He said he would give the Emperor every security for his fidelity. I said he had nothing to give except in Ireland, and that even if the Emperor could have all Ireland, he required no security but his word of honour. And so we agreed that an article should be drawn up about it. The Earl always treated me very well, often sending me venison and cows to the ship. His greatest enmity is towards the Cardinal of England. He said he had been in alliance with France . . . but he promised henceforth to hold the French as enemies, as they were enemies to the Emperor.

In Ireland are 4 principal cities, of which Dublin is the largest and richest. The Earl has no possessions in that neighbourhood . . . the other 3 are Waterford, Cork and Limerick, in all which he has many adherents. He has much power among the wild Irish. He has many knights who pay him tribute. There are 10 castles on his lands, one of which named Dungarvan, the King of England has in vain attempted to take.[1] . . .

[Original in *Spanish.*]

[1] Desmond added a note to this document in which he stated: "I have a firm alliance with the King of Scotland and frequent communication with him by letters and ambassadors."

(4) A Letter from O'Brien to Charles V. [A Letter in the M.S. Archives at Brussels, pr. by J. A. Froude as an appendix to the *Pilgrim* (1861),[1] pp. 175–6.]

To the most sacred and most invincible Cæsar, Charles Emperor of the Romans, Most Catholic King of Spain, health with all submission :—

Most sacred Cæsar, lord most clement, we give your Majesty to know that our predecessors for a long time quietly and peacefully occupied Ireland, with constancy, force, and courage, and without rebellion. They possessed and governed this country in manner royal, as by our ancient chronicles doth plainly appear. Our said predecessors and ancestry did come from your Majesty's realm of Spain, where they were of the blood of a Spanish prince, and many kings of that lineage, in long succession, governed all Ireland happily, until it was conquered by the English.[2] The last king of this land was of my blood and name; and ever since that time our ancestors, and we ourselves, have ceased not to oppose the English intruders; we have never been subject to English rule, or yielded up our ancient rights and liberties; and there is at this present, and for ever will be, perpetual discord between us, and we will harass them with continual war. For this cause, we, who till this present, have sworn fealty to no man, submit ourselves, our lands, our families, our followers, to the protection and defence of your Majesty, and of free will and deliberate purpose we promise to obey your Majesty's orders and commands in all honest behests. We will serve your Majesty with all our force; that is to say, with 1,660 horse and 2,440 foot, equipped and armed. Further, we will levy and direct for your Majesty's use 13,000 men, well armed with harquebuss, bows, arrows and swords. We will submit to your Majesty's will and jurisdiction more than 100 castles, and they and all else shall be at your Majesty's disposition to be employed as you shall direct. . . .

Written at our castle at Clare . . . 21st July 1534, by your humble servant and unfailing friend.

Connor O'Brien, Prince of Ireland.

VI. THE REBELLION OF "SILKEN THOMAS" (1534–5)

(1) An Irish Account. [*Annals of the Four Masters*.[3] (ed. and tr. O'Donovan), V. 1419–45.]

[1535] The Earl of Kildare, Lord Justice of Ireland (Garrett Oge), the son of Garrett, son of Thomas, the most illustrious of

[1] See p. 116 *n.* 3. [2] See p. 92 *n.* 1.

[3] These Annals, which are based upon older sources of the same kind, were written in Irish during the reign of Charles I, and so are not strictly contemporary authorities. See O'Donovan's Introduction to his monumental edition of the *Annals*, I. vii–liv.

the English and Irish of Ireland in his time, for not only had his name and renown spread through all Ireland, but his fame and exalted character were heard of in distant countries of foreign nations, died in captivity in London. After which, his son Thomas proceeded to avenge his father upon the English, and all who had been instrumental in removing him from Ireland. He resigned the King's sword, and did many injuries to the English. The Archbishop of Dublin [1] came by his death through him, for he had been opposed to his father; many others were slain along with him. He took Dublin from Newgate outwards, and pledges and hostages were given him by the rest of the town through fear of him. The son of the Earl on this occasion totally plundered and devastated Fingall [2] from Slieve Roe [3] to Drogheda, and made all Meath tremble beneath his feet.

When the King had received intelligence of this he sent relief to the English, namely William Skeffington, as Lord Justice, and Leonard Grey, with a great fleet, and these proceeded to plunder all [the territory] that was under the jurisdiction of the Earl's son. They afterwards took Maynooth, Thomas's town, and expelled himself from his territory. . . . When the aforesaid Englishmen were not able to make a prisoner of Thomas (after having taken his manors and towns from him, and driven him for an asylum to the Irish of the south of Ireland, especially to the O'Briens and O'Connor Faly, who all were a firm and powerful bulwark against them, and at war with them) they resolved in council to proffer him a pretended peace, and take him by treachery; [4] whereupon they sent Lord Leonard to the Earl's son, who promised pardon on behalf of the King, so that he coaxed him with him to England, where he was immediately seized and placed in the King's Tower, in bondage and captivity. . . .

[1537] Thomas, the son of the Earl of Kildare, the best man of the English in Ireland in his time . . . [was] put to death in England on the 3rd of the nones of February; and all the Geraldines of Leinster were exiled and banished. The Earldom of Kildare was vested in the King . . . these were great losses, and the cause of lamentation throughout Ireland.

(2) Ordnance for Ireland. ["A Proportion thought necessary to be sent to Ireland for this present time" (1534). *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, VII, No. 1682.]

(i) A demi-cannon of brass with shod wheels, with ladle and

[1] John Alen, Archbishop of Dublin, was murdered at Artane on the 28th July, 1534.
[2] The territory (*fine*) of the foreigner (*gall*). This name was sometimes given to the Pale.
[3] The Three Rock Mountain, near Dublin.
[4] Lord Leonord Grey on his own responsibility promised "Silken Thomas" his personal safety, and so persuaded him to submit unconditionally to the King's mercy. The execution of the Earl did not reflect creditably upon the Government.

sponge, and 60 iron shot for the same; 2 brass falcons;[1] 2 falconets[2] and 140 shot for them; 40 iron "hagbushes";[3] ½ last of serpentine powder; 4 half barrels of corn powder; ½ last saltpetre; 4 cwt. brimstone; 500 yew bows; 2 barrels bow strings; 1,000 sheaves of livery arrows; 300 northern spears; 1,000 horse shoes and 8,000 nails for them; 6 carts shod with iron; 8 pr. ironshod wheels for sakers[4] and falcons; 3 dozen scythes; a gin.

(ii) Parcels that require to be provided:—60 great horses to draw the ordnance, to be bought in Northamptonshire; 6 cart horse harness, at 20*s.* each; 200 spades and shovels; 3 dozen rammers and forms for charging ladles, at 2*s.* per dozen; 6 forms for cartouches, at 3*d.* each; 30 chests for bows and arrows; 2 barrels soap; 10 horse hides "whyt tawyd" (tanned); 24 iron crows, weighing in all 5½ cwt., at 1½*d.* per lb.; 100 pickaxes weighing 1,007 lbs. at 2½*d.* per lb.; 100 felling axes, 12*d.* each; 2,000 iron spikes weighing 5 cwt. at 14*s.* per cwt. Total £95 1*s.* 0½*d.* . . .

(iii) Artificers and carters:—1 wheelwright, 6 carters, 20 tons [of] elm timber.

(3) Capture of Maynooth Castle. [Sir William Skeffington, Lord Deputy, and the Council of Ireland to Henry VIII (26 March, 1535). *S.P. Hen. VIII*, II. 236–7.]

May it please your most excellent Highness to be advertised, that I, your Deputy, with your army in these parts, the 14th day of March last past besieged the castle of Maynooth, which by your traitor and rebel, Thomas Fitzgerald, was so strongly fortified, both with men and ordnance, as the like hath not been seen in Ireland, since any your most noble progenitors had first dominion in the land. There was within the same above 100 able men, whereof were above 60 gunners. The 16th day of the said month your ordnance was bent to the north-west side of the donjon of the same castle, which did batter the top thereof on that wise, as their ordnance within that part was "dampned" (damaged); which done, your ordnance was bent upon the north side of the base court of the said castle, at the north-east end whereof there was new made a very strong and fast bulwark, well garnished with men and ordnance, which the 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, and 22nd days of the said month, did beat the same, by night and day, on that wise, that a great battery and a large entry was made there; whereupon the 23rd day, being Tuesday next before Easter Day, there was a

[1] A species of light cannon: weight of shot about 1 lb.
[2] Another species of light ordnance: weight of shot about 14 ozs.
[3] The *arquebuse* was a portable firearm which was supported on a rest.
[4] A cannon chiefly employed in sieges: weight about 1,500 lbs.: weight of shot, 5½ lbs. Point-blank range, 360 yards.

"galiarde" (valiant) assault given . . . and the base court entered. At which entry there was slain of the ward of the castle about 60, and of your Grace's army no more but John Griffen, yeoman of your most honourable guard, and six others, which were killed with ordnance of the castle at the entry. Howbeit, if it had not pleased God to preserve us, it were to be marvelled that we had no more slain.

After the base court was thus won, we assaulted the great castle, which within awhile yielded; wherein was the Dean of Kildare . . with divers other gunners and archers to the number of 37; which were all taken prisoners, and their lives preserved by appointment, until they should be presented to me, your Deputy, and then to be ordered, as I and your Council thought good. And considering the high enterprise and presumption attempted by them against your Grace's crown and majesty . . . we all thought expedient and requisite, that they should be put to execution, for the dread and example of others. According whereunto, the Thursday following, in the morning, they were examined, and their depositions written; and after noon the same day arraigned before the provost marshal and captains, and there, upon their own confessions, adjudged to die, and immediately 25 of them before the gate of the castle headed, and one hanged. Divers of the heads of the principals, incontinently, were put upon the turrets of the castle. We send your Highness here enclosed the effect of their depositions, amongst which there is a priest, which was privy with the traitor, deposeth that the Emperor promised to send hither against your Grace, 10,000 men, by the first day of May, and the King of Scots promised to give aid to your rebel likewise. . . .

(4) Petition of the Mayor and Citizens of Dublin to the King (22 May, 1536). [*Cal. S.P. Ireland,* p. 18.]

The ruin sustained in breaking their towers, bridges, houses, and the leads of the conduits of the water in the late siege of the Geraldines. . . . The city is holden in fee-farm for 200 marks yearly. Pray for the continuance of an allowance of £46 for murage, pavage, and other necessaries.

Pray for six falcons,[1] one for every of the six gates, with 4 lasts of gunpowder.

(5) "Silken Thomas" in the Tower. [Lord Thomas Fitzgerald to John Rothe (1536). *S.P. Hen. VIII,* II. 402–3.]

My trusty servant, I heartily commend me unto you. I pray you that you will deliver this other letter unto O'Brien. I have

[1] See p. 96 *n.* 1.

sent to him for £20 sterling, the which if he take you (as I trust he will), then I will that you come over, and bring it unto my Lord Cromwell, that I may so have it. I never had any money, since I came into prison, but a noble, nor I have had neither hose, doublet, nor shoes, nor shirt, but one; nor any other garment, but a single frieze gown, for a velvet furred with "bowge," and so I have gone "woolward," [1] and barefoot, and barelegged, divers times (when it hath not been very warm); and so I should have done still, and now, but that poor prisoners, of their gentleness, hath sometime given me old hose, and shoes, and old shirts. This I write unto you, not as complaining on my friends, but for to show you the truth of my great need, that you should be the more diligent in going unto O'Brien, and in bringing me the beforesaid £20, whereby I might the sooner have here money to buy me clothes, and also for to amend my slender commons and fare, and for other necessaries. I will you take out of that you bring me, for your costs and labour. I pray you have me commended unto all my lovers and friends, and show them that I am in good health.

By me, THOMAS FITZGERALD.

VII. CAMPAIGNS UNDERTAKEN AGAINST THE IRISH BY LORD LEONARD GREY (1536–8)

(1) The Breaking of O'Brien's Bridge. [The Council of Ireland to Cromwell (9 Aug., 1536). *S.P. Hen. VIII*, II. 351–2.]

The King's Deputy . . . with all the army, resorted to this city of Limerick; and being here, we consulted together to set forth to the winning and breaking of O'Brien's Bridge . . . and on Friday we marched with all the army, and with demi-culverin [2] and such other ordnance as we had, toward the bridge, and by the conduct of the said Donough [3] and his friends, we were brought to it in a secret and an unknown way, on this side of the water, where never English host, nor carts, came before; whereby we achieved our purpose with less danger than we could have done on the other side. On Saturday we came to the said bridge, and after the host was encamped, the Deputy with the gunners viewed the same. On this side (of the Shannon) was a strong castle, builded all of hewn marble; and at the other end another castle, but not of such force, both built within the water, somewhat distant from the land. At this end they had broken 4 arches of the bridge, betwixt the castle and the land. The gunners bent

[1] i.e. in wool only, without linen.

[2] A kind of cannon, with a bore of about 4 inches.

[3] Donough O'Brien, O'Brien's eldest son, who stipulated that he should receive the Castle of Carrigogunnell, near Limerick, as a reward for his treachery.

all the ordnance upon the great castle, on this side, shooting at it all that day; but the castle was of such force, that the ordnance did in manner no hurt to it, for the wall was at the least 12 or 13 foot thick, and both the castles were well warded with gunners, gallowglass[1] and horsemen, having made such fortifications of timber, and hogsheads of earth, as the like have not been seen in this land. They had one great piece of iron, which shot balls, as great in manner as a man's head. They had also a ship piece, a "Portingall" (Portuguese) piece, certain "hagbusshes" (arquebuses),[2] and hand guns. And the Deputy, perceiving that the King's ordnance did little hurt to the castles, and also that the shot was spent, against the Sunday in the morning, he caused every of the army to make a faggot of a fathom in length to fill that part of the water twixt the land and the castle, and devised certain ladders to be made; which done, he appointed certain of his own retinue, and a company of Master Saintlowes to give the assault; which we assure you they executed hardily so as with plain manhood and force they scaled the bridge, which the others (the garrison) perceiving escaped at the other end thereof, by footmanship (into Thomond); and so they lost both the bridge, the castles, their ordnance, and all that was else therein; which castles and bridge the Deputy and we have caused to be broken down to the ground. There was slain of the army two gunners, and divers hurted; and at the loosing of the joints of the timber bridge, a great part of it did fall, and the Mayor of this city of Limerick,[3] with divers others, about the number of 30 persons, standing upon the same. Albeit, thanks be to God, there perished no more, but a servant of Master Saintlowes and one of this city; and all the others, by swimming and one boat, which we had gotten there, were saved.

(2) Subjugation of the Kavanaghs. [The Lord Deputy and Council to Henry VIII (8 Oct., 1538). *S.P. Hen. VIII,* III. 99–100.]

Assembling at this season together, we have thought it meet to ascertain your Majesty of the effects of the last journey made upon McMurrough, and his kinsmen called the Kavanaghs[4] which proceeded upon these occasions. At our last assembly, with the Earl of Ormonde, the Lord Butler his son High Treasurer of this your Highness's land, and other of your Council, at your city of Dublin, upon the complaint of your subjects of the counties of Wexford, Kildare, and others, bordering to the same Kavanaghs,

[1] See p. 87 *n.* 3. [2] See p. 96 *n.* 3.

[3] Limerick, in common with the other port towns, was loyal to the Crown.

[4] The Kavanaghs, whose territories lay in the modern counties of Carlow, Wexford, and Wicklow, had long exacted a tribute from the English of the Pale. Cahir, son of Art Kavanagh, had taken part in the rebellion of "Silken Thomas." See an article by Hore on the Clan Kavanagh in *Journ. Roy. Soc. Antiqs. Irel.* (1858), V. 73–92.

touching manifold hurts committed by them, we thought good, that before any foray . . . be made upon them, to prove their minds by honest and reasonable communication; to the intent, that if by that means we might have a reasonable offer of them, we would eschew the costs and dangers of the war. For which purpose, we agreed that the said Earl, and his son, . . . and your Chief Justice, should have a meeting with the said McMurrough, and other the principal gentlemen and captains of his nation, upon their borders. At whose meeting, and communication had with them, they would condescend to no reasonable point. Whereupon we agreed that a "journey" (hostile incursion), with 21 days' victuals, should be made upon them. And your Grace's county of Dublin being guarded upon the borders . . . and your county of Kildare "semblably" (similarly) guarded . . . your Highness's said Deputy, accompanied with the Treasurer of your wars, and your Chief Justice, advanced with your army . . . to the borders of the said Kavanaghs; and there your Grace's said Lord Treasurer, with a goodly company with him of men of war, both of horsemen and footmen, after the manner of this land, met your Highness's Deputy, and so joining together they entered the said Kavanaghs' lands, there continuing, taking their castles, and destroying the country, by the space of 14 days. After which hurts done, and one of the best of the gentlemen of their nation . . . killed, they summoned themselves to your Grace's peace; offering to hold their lands of your Highness, and to pay your Grace a yearly rent for the same. The peace is received of them, and security taken of them for their keeping of peace to your subjects. But as to the residue, we have left it in balance and stay, until we may know your Grace's pleasure, whether it shall please your Highness to accept them, according their own offer, or else, "according our ofte devises," in respect of the situation of the place which they inhabit, clearly to exile them; which surely, as we now know the country, and the condition of the inhabitants, may be done with much less charge and less number, than heretofore was devised. . . . Neither do we mean, when we speak or motion to conquest or exile these men, that we would banish all the inhabitants there, but the gentlemen and men of war; and, having garrisons of men of war in certain principal places, to retain still the most of the poor earth tillers there, which be good inhabitants.

As concerning the state of your Highness's land, we signify unto your Majesty, that (thanks be to God and your Highness) the same is at such stay and peace at this season, as it hath not been these many years; neither was there any King of England these hundred years past, so esteemed, known, obeyed and feared, as your Grace is.

VIII. HENRY VIII DECLARED KING OF IRELAND

(1) A Letter of Advice. ["A certain Information for our sovereign Lord's most honourable Commissioners in Ireland" (1537). *S.P. Hen. VIII*, II. 480.]

Where(as) the Irish men, of long continuance, hath supposed the regal estate of this land to consist in the Bishop of Rome for the time being, and the Lordship of the Kings of England here to be but a governance under the obedience of the same, which causeth them to have more respect of due subjection unto the said Bishop, than to our sovereign Lord; therefore me seemeth it convenient, that his Highness be recognised here, by Act of Parliament, Supreme Governor of this dominion, by the name of the King of Ireland, and then to induce the Irish Captains, as well by their oaths as writings, to recognise the same, which things shall be, in continuance, a great motive to bring them to due obedience.[1] . . .

(2) An Act that the King of England, his Heirs and Successors, be Kings of Ireland (33 Hen. VIII, c. 1). [*Irish Statutes* (1786), I. 176.]

Forasmuch as the King our most gracious dread sovereign lord, and his Grace's most noble progenitors, Kings of England, have been Lords of this land of Ireland,[2] having all manner kingly jurisdiction, power, pre-eminences, and authority royal, belonging or appertaining to the royal estate and majesty of a king, by the name of Lords of Ireland, where the King's Majesty and his most noble progenitors justly and rightfully were, and of right ought to be, Kings of Ireland, and so to be reputed, taken, named, and called, and for lack of naming the King's Majesty and his noble progenitors Kings of Ireland according to their said true and just title, style, and name therein, hath been great occasion, that the Irish men and inhabitants within this Realm of Ireland have not been so obedient to the King's Highness and his most noble progenitors, and to their laws, as they of right and according to their allegiance and bounden duties ought to have been: wherefore at the humble pursuit, petition, and request of the lords spiritual and temporal, and other the King's loving, faithful, and obedient subjects of this his land of Ireland, and by their full assents, be it enacted, ordained and established by authority of this present Parliament, that the King's Highness, his heirs and successors, Kings of England, be always Kings of this land of Ireland, and that his Majesty, his

[1] This is in the handwriting of Alen, Master of the Rolls.
[2] See p. 22.

heirs and successors, have the name, style, title, and honour of King of this land of Ireland, with all manner honours, pre-eminences, prerogatives, dignities, and other things whatsoever they be to the estate and majesty of a King imperial appertaining or belonging; and that his Majesty, his heirs and successors, be from henceforth named, called, accepted, reputed, and taken to be Kings of this land of Ireland, to have, hold, and enjoy the said style, title, majesty, and honours of King of Ireland, with all manner pre-eminences, prerogatives, dignities, and all other the premises unto the King's Highness, his heirs and successors for ever, as united and knit to the imperial crown of the Realm of England. . . .

(3) Meeting of the Irish Parliament (1541). [Sir Anthony St. Leger, Lord Deputy to the King (26 June, 1541). *S.P. Hen. VIII,* III. 304–5.]

It may please your most excellent Majesty to be advertised, that the morrow after Trinity Sunday (13 June) your Highness's Parliament began in this your Highness's Realm.[1] And for that the Earls of Ormonde and Desmond, and many other lords of Munster, were not then come, we deferred the solemn Mass of the Holy Ghost till the Thursday following, being Corpus Christi Day. The said earls, with divers other lords of Munster . . . came the Tuesday, and were all present at the said Mass, the most part of them in their robes, and rode on procession solemnly, in such sort as the like thereof hath not been seen here of many years. And the Friday following, being assembled in the place of Parliament accustomed, the Commons presented unto us their Speaker, one Sir Thomas Cusack,[2] a man that right painfully hath served your Majesty at all times; who made a right solemn proposition, in giving such laud and praise to your Majesty, as justly and most worthily your Majesty hath merited, as well for the extirpation of the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome out of this your Realm (who had of many years been a great robber and destroyer of the same), as also for your innumerable benefits showed unto your realms, and subjects of the same. Which proposition was right well and prudently answered by your Highness's Chancellor here; and after, both the effect of the proposition and answer was briefly and prudently declared, in the Irish tongue, to the said lords, by the mouth of the Earl of Ormonde, greatly to their contentation. And that done, and the said Speaker and Commons withdrawn, it was by me, your poor servant, proposed, that forasmuch as your Majesty had always been the only protector and defender, under God, of this Realm, that it was most meet that your Majesty, and your

[1] See p. 71, *n.* 10, p. 72, *n.* 3.
[2] Cusack was Sheriff of Meath at this time. He became Lord Chancellor in 1551.

heirs, should from thenceforth be named and called KING of the same; and caused the Bill devised for the same to be read; which once being read, and declared to them, in Irish, all the whole House most willingly and joyously consented and agreed to the same. And being three times read, and with one voice agreed, we sent the same to the Lower House, where, in like wise it passed, with no less joy and willing consent. And upon the Saturday following the same Bill being read in plain Parliament, before the Lords and Commons, it was by me, your most humble servant, most joyously consented, no less to my comfort, than to be again risen from death to life, that I, so poor a wretch, should, by your excellent goodness, be put to that honour, that in my time, your Majesty should most worthily have another imperial crown. . . .

There was at the same consent 2 earls, 3 viscounts, 16 barons, 2 archbishops, 12 bishops, Donough O'Brien, and the doctor O'Nolan and a bishop, deputies assigned by the great O'Brien to be for him in the Parliament, the great O'Reilly, with many other Irish captains, and the Common House, wherein are divers knights, and many gentlemen of fair possessions. And for that the thing passed so joyously, and so much to the contentation of every person, the Sunday following, there were made in the city great bonfires, wine set in the streets, great feastings in their houses, with a goodly sort of guns; and for that all men should have the more cause to rejoice, I, with others, of your Majesty's Council, thought it good, that all prisoners, not lying at suit of any party for debt, or such like, should be freely delivered out of the prisons wherein they were, unless it were for treason, wilful murder, rape or debt. And the said Sunday all the lords and gentlemen rode to your Church of Saint Patrick's, where there was sung a solemn Mass by the Archbishop of Dublin, and after the Mass, the said Act proclaimed there in presence of 2,000 persons and Te Deum sung, with great joy and gladness to all men.

IX. HENRY VIII'S VIEWS UPON IRISH GOVERNMENT

(1) Letter to the Earl of Surrey (1520). [*S.P. Hen. VIII*, II. 52–4.]

We, and our Council think and verily believe, that in case circumspect and politic ways be used, ye shall not only bring them (the Irish "captains") to further obedience, for the observance of our laws, and governing themselves according to the same, but also following justice, to forbear to detain rebelliously such lands and dominions as to us in right appertaineth; which thing must

as yet rather be practised by sober ways, politic drifts, and amiable persuasions, founded in law and reason, than by rigorous dealing, comminations, or any other enforcement by strength or violence. And, to be plain unto you, to spend so much money for the reduction of that land, to bring the Irishry in appearance only of obeisance, without that they should observe our laws, and resort to our courts for justice, and restore such dominions as they unlawfully detain from us; it were a thing of little policy, less advantage, and least effect.

Wherefore we think right expedient, that at such assemblies and common councils, when ye shall call the lords, and other captains of that our land, before you, as of good congruence ye must needs so do, ye, after and among other overtures, by your wisdoms then to be made, should declare unto them the great decay, ruin, and desolation of that commodious and fertile land, for lack of politic governance and good justice, which can never be brought in good order, unless the unbridled sensualities of insolent folks be brought under the rules of the laws. For realms without justice be but tyrannies and robberies, more consonant to beastly appetites, than to the laudable life of reasonable creatures. And whereas wilfulness doth reign by strength, without law or justice, there is no distinction of propriety in dominions, nor yet any man may say, this is mine; but by strength the weaker is subdued and oppressed, which is contrary to all laws, both of God and man. And it may be said unto them, in good manner, that like as we, being their Sovereign Lord and Prince, though of our absolute power we be above the laws, yet we will in no wise take anything from them, that righteously appertaineth to them; so, of good congruence, they be bound, both by law, fidelity, and liegance, to restore unto us our own. For it so much toucheth our honour to conserve our rightful inheritance, that we neither may, nor will, suffer any prince, of whatsoever pre-eminence he be, to usurp or detain any part thereof, but by our puissance, to repress such usurpation and detention accordingly. And much more it soundeth to our dishonour to permit and suffer our own subjects to detain violently any part of lands to us righteously appertaining. Endeavouring yourself by these and other persuasions, as ye shall think good, to cause them to know the ways of justice, whereby they shall be the rather moved, not only to incline thereunto, but also to leave such unlawful and sensual demeanours, as they have hitherto used.

Howbeit, our mind is not that ye shall impress in them any opinion by fearful words, that we intend to expel them from their lands and dominions, lawfully possessed, but to conserve them in their own, and to use their advice, aid and assistance, as of faithful subjects, to recover our rightful inheritance; nor yet that we be

minded to constrain them precisely to observe our laws ministered by our Justices there, but under good manner to shew unto them, that of necessity it is requisite that every reasonable creature be governed by a law. And, therefore, if they shall allege, that our laws, there used, be too extreme and rigorous, and that it should be very hard for them to observe the same; then ye may further ensearch of them, under what manner, and by what laws, they will be ordered and governed; to the intent that if their laws be good and reasonable, they may be approved, and the rigour of our laws, if they shall think them too hard, be mitigated and brought to such moderation as they may conveniently live under the same. By which means ye shall finally induce them, of necessity, to conform their order of living to the observance of some reasonable law, and not to live at will, as they have used heretofore. And if by these, and "semblable" (like) drifts an entry might be made, that part of our lands, detained by usurpation, might be reduced to our possession, either of the Earldom of Ulster [1] . . . or of any other which notoriously appertaineth unto us, it might be the mean that successively, and from time to time, not only the residue to us belonging should be recovered, but also such lands as by force be detained from all other lords, might be brought to their "pristinate" (ancient) state; which is the best and most speedy way to bring that land in good order and obeisance, and to cause the same to be inhabited and manured; considering that every lord, having his own, should not only be able to live there honourably, and to subdue tyranny, but also would see their lands inhabited, tilled, and laboured for their most advantage.

(2) Letter of Henry VIII to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland (1541). [*S.P. Hen. VIII*, III. pp. 332–4.]

You shall know, that we divide the Irishmen, and the lands they occupy, into two parts. The one part, as O'Reilly, O'Connor, the Kavanaghs etc., we take to lie so upon the danger of our power, as you may easily bring them to any reasonable conditions, that may be well desired of them. The other sort, as O'Donnell, MacWilliam, O'Brien etc., we think to lie so far from our strength there, as, without a greater force, it will be difficult to expel them out of their country, and to keep and inhabit the same with such as we would thereunto appoint; albeit we may easily correct and punish any of them, as the case shall require. Therefore we would, that to them all you shall use good and discreet persuasions, to make them "saver" (perceive) what it is to have their lands by our gift certainly and quietly, what honour and benefit it shall be to them

[1] The claim of the Crown to Ulster is set forth in the Act of Attainder of Shane O'Neill (11 Eliz. c. 1). *Irish Statutes*, I. 322.

to live in civility, and what reason would and enforceth, they should again be content for the same to do towards us (*sic*), who must and will, in that case, aid them in the maintenance of that which they shall have thus received of us. And as you may well press those, which lie in our danger, and have open countries, to more beneficial conditions, than you shall do the others, which lie further off, lest by extreme demands they should revolt to their former beastliness ; so we mean not to get of (i.e. from) any of them more than they shall be able to accomplish, whereby necessity should enforce them to slip again from us, but only, for the beginning, to bring our revenue to such a mass, as may defend the State there ; and after, as the country shall grow into a further civility, so our profits to be increased.

But to descend to the specialities, what may be gotten, as we think, with good means of both sorts of the Irishmen before mentioned. First, we think that you may easily bind all them, which lie upon our strength, to all the conditions whereunto Tirlough O'Toole is bound.[1] Second, to condescend, that if we shall give them their lands, which be the greatest lords, they shall not only reserve unto us either some such towns or holds of the same, as you shall there think meet, or to grant such reservation of rent, or subsidy, out of the same, as may advance this our purpose ; but also they shall help, that the possessions of the meaner gentlemen in their countries, which be not of our peace, may be gotten to our use, possession, or profit ; or at the least, that every of them may hold immediately of us, and pay such rent or subsidy, as shall for their quantities amount to a convenient portion. Third, that they shall hold by knight's service, whereby their children shall be our wards, and after sue out their liveries. . . .

We would you should not overmuch press them in any vigorous sort, but only to persuade them discreetly, upon consideration that the lands they have, be our proper inheritance, besides our right and title to the whole land, and what honour, quiet, benefit, and commodity, they shall have by such an end to be made with us, and what danger may come to them, if they embrace not this our special grace showed unto them, to induce them gently to condescend to that, which shall be reasonably desired of them. . . .

And for the better alluring of those of the remote parts, we shall not much stick to let them have some of the religious houses, which shall be suppressed in their countries, in farm, at such reasonable rents as you shall think meet, so as we may be in surety to be answered of the rents, as appertaineth.

[1] The O'Tooles agreed to give up their black rents ; to use the English habit and manner ; to educate their children to speak English ; to attend the Lord Lieutenant upon all hostings ; to hold their lands of the King, etc.—*Cal. Pat. Rolls* (ed. Morrin), I. 81

X. THE POLICY OF SURRENDER AND REGRANT

(1) MacWilliam Burke promises Submission[1] (1541). [*S.P. Hen. VIII*, III. pp. 290–1.]

Please it your most excellent Majesty to be advertised, that I, and my ancestors, being brought up in a rude country, without order or good civility, not knowing your most excellent Majesty, hath of long time, by ignorance neglected our duty of allegiance; and now hearing of your most excellent Majesty's famous renown, first of all have submitted me to your Deputy and Council in your land of Ireland; and yet therewith not being satisfied, most desirous to see your excellent Majesty, have hither resorted to see the same; whereunto nature did procure me, remembering that I and my ancestors were descended of English blood, and in time past a baron of the Parliament; therefore lamenting the decay and misorder of me and my ancestors, which have been brought to Irish and disobedient rule by reason of marriage and nursing with those Irish, sometime rebels, near adjoining to me. Wherefore now, most dread sovereign Lord, reconciling me unto your most excellent Majesty, willingly eftsoons submit myself, and acknowledge my ignorance, and put me wholly, both land, body and goods in your gracious mercy, refusing and giving up all that I have into your hands, [neither] willing nor desiring anything, but that shall please your most excellent Majesty to give me, of your mere gift; and so utterly do refuse all contrary laws, submitting me only to your laws, according my most bounden duty, and prostrating myself before the feet of your Majesty, most humbly desire and ask your gracious and merciful pardon of all mine offences, disobediences, and transgressions.

(2) Submission of the Earl of Desmond.[2] [Sir Anthony St. Leger to Henry VIII (21 Feb., 1541). *S.P. Hen. VIII*, III. 285–7.]

He (the Earl of Desmond) came to us [at] Cashel, where, after divers overtures to him made, and declaring how good and gracious your Majesty had been unto him, we advised him, both to submit himself to your Majesty's obedience, according [to] his natural duty and also to make most humble suit for your most gracious pardon;

[1] Of all the Anglo-Norman families the two great houses of the Galway and Mayo Burkes, originally De Burgos, were the most completely Hibernicized. This letter was probably written from Dublin. See *S.P. Hen. VIII*, III. 290.

[2] The palatine jurisdiction of the Earl of Desmond included Kerry and a small portion of West Cork. In fact, however, the Desmonds had extended their sway over the whole of Cork, Kerry and Limerick, and even over the western half of Waterford.—Wilson, *Begs. Mod. Ireland*, p. 39.

which I had ready to be delivered unto him, upon reasonable conditions, which I, and my fellows would exhibit unto him. Wherein we found the said Earl most willing to submit himself, according our advice. And, for that we were not there in place propitious, we departed from thence to one Sir Thomas Butler's house, where we fully concluded with the said Earl of Desmond making his humble submission in manner and form as may appear to your Majesty by the copy of the same.[1] . . . . And in the presence of MacWilliam, O'Connor, and divers other Irish gentlemen, to the number of 200 at the least, he kneeled down before me, and most humbly delivered his said submission, desiring me to deliver unto him his said pardon . . . affirming that it was more glad to him to be so reconciled to your favours, than to have any worldy treasure: protesting that no earthly cause should make him from henceforth swerve from your Majesty's obedience. And after that done, I delivered to him your said most gracious pardon, which he most joyfully accepted.

(3) Negotiation with Con O'Neill. [The Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland to the Privy Council in England (1 Sept., 1542). *S.P. Hen. VIII*, III. 416–17.]

May it please your right honourable Lordships to be advertised that, whereupon our former letters addressed to the King's Majesty, in the favour of O'Neill, it pleased his Highness, having most gracious respect to his last submission, to grant him a name of honour, with such lands as should, by our further advertisement of his obedience and good proceedings, be thought for him convenient; but considering as well of what sort he hath strayed in times past, as that now he showeth an outward appearance of loyalty and conformity, being in purpose, at this present, by our persuasion, beyond all men's opinions, to repair to his Highness; trusting that by visiting his most noble person, and that by considering his high bounty, and the honour that, by his repair thither, shall be imprinted in his heart for ever, he shall be renewed to another kind of living; we have referred him to his Highness's own order.

Therefore now, our good Lords, forasmuch as it cannot be known that ever any O'Neill repaired in person before this into England to any his noble progenitors, but hitherto usurped to call themselves Princes of Ulster, as adversaries to his "regality" and monarchy; and also having regard to this present time of his repair, when open "brute" (rumour) is here, that France and Scotland be at open war with his Highness, and that the King of Scots would send an army to invade this his Realm; we can no less do, than

[1] Desmond's terms of surrender were much the same as those of the northern chiefs. See *S.P. Hen. VIII*, III. 286–7 *n.* 1.

make humble suit to his Majesty, and also desire your Lordships, that he may be entertained in such sort, as the same may be the winning of him, and ensample to others. And for his satisfaction for his name of honour, it may please your Lordships to move his Highness, to create him Earl of Tyrone, which is the name of the country whereof he and his sept have the possession and rule, and to grant him, and such one of his sons as he shall name, and his heirs, all such lands in Tyrone aforesaid, as he possesseth at this present. . . .

We be the more bold to press your Lordships with his suit, for that it pleased his Highness to will us to send to his Majesty, all such Irishmen as were of any estimation, which should submit themselves to take their lands of his Grace. And also remembering that it appeareth not by the Chronicles, that his Highness's noble progenitor, King Richard II [1] of famous renown, being in person in this land with 20,000 men in wages, to his exceeding charges, constrained not more notable Irishmen to submit themselves to him, than to his Grace's great honour and perpetual renown, shall, with much less difficulty and charges, resort to his Highness into England, to submit themselves.

(4) Con O'Neill at the English Court (1 Oct., 1542). [*Cal. Carew MSS.*, I. 199.]

The Queen's closet at Greenwich was richly hanged with cloth of arras, and well strewed with rushes, and after the "sacring" [2] of the High Mass, these Earls (*sic*) in company went to the said closet, and there put on their robes of state. And immediately after the King's Majesty, being under the cloth of state, accompanied with all his noblemen, councillors and others, came in the Earl, led between the Earl of Oxenford, and the Earl of Hertford, the Viscount Lisle bearing before him his sword, the hilts upwards, Garter before him, bearing his letters patent; and so proceeded to the King's Majesty, who received of Garter the letters patent, and took them to Mr. Wriotesley, Secretary, to read them openly. And when he came to *cincturam gladii*, the Viscount Lisle presented unto the King the sword, and the King girt the said sword about the said Earl "baudrickwise," [3] the foresaid Earl kneeling, and the other lords standing that led him. And so the patent read out, the King's Highness took him his letters patent, and he gave him thanks in his language, and a priest made answer of his saying in English; and there the King made two of the men that came with him knights. And so the Earls in order aforesaid took their leave of the King's Highness, and departed unto the place appointed for

[1] Richard II visited Ireland twice, with the largest expeditions seen there during the Middle Ages.

[2] Consecration of elements in the Mass.

[3] Baudricke, belt, girdle.

their dinners, the Earl of Tyrone bearing his letters patent himself, the trumpets blowing before him unto the chamber, which was the Lord Great Master's under the King's lodging. And so they sat at dinner. At the second course Garter proclaimed the King's style, and after the said new Earl's in manner following: *Du très haut et puissant Seigneur Con [O'Neill], Comte de Tyrone, en le Royaume d'Irlande.*

(5) Agreements with the Ulster Chieftains.[1] [Indenture made 6 Aug., 1541, between Sir Anthony St. Leger, Deputy, and the Council, and Manus O'Donnell. *Cal. Carew MSS.*, I. 183–4.]

(1) Manus O'Donnell will recognise and accept the King as his liege Lord and King.

(2) He will not confederate with the rebels of the King, but persecute them to the utmost of his power.

(3) He will renounce the usurped primacy and authority of the Roman Pontiff.

(4) Whenever he shall be called upon by letters of the Lord Deputy and Council, to come to any great hosting, he will come in his own person, with 70 horsemen, 120 kerne and as many Scots, or send one of his most powerful men with the same number, for one month at his own expense.

(5) He will appear in the next great Parliament in Ireland, or send to the same some discreet and trusty person authorised by his writing, sealed with his seal.

(6) He will faithfully perform the articles contained in the King's letters sent to him at the time of his receiving pardon.

(7) He will receive and hold his lands from the King, and take such title as the King shall give him.

(8) He offers to send one of his sons into England, to the presence of his Majesty, to be there reared and educated according to English manners.

(9) The Lord Deputy and Council promise to assist and defend O'Donnell and his heirs against all who injure him or invade his country.[2]

["Articles of the submission of Con O'Neill." *Cal. Carew MSS.*, I. 189–9.]

(1) He utterly forsakes the name of O'Neill.

(2) He and his heirs shall use the English habits, "and to their knowledge the English language."

[1] O'Neill and O'Donnell were the most powerful of all the Irish chieftains. They, their servants, and subjects, "have more ground of your Grace's said inheritance (the Earldom of Ulster) than six of the greatest men of land in England have, within your Realm." —Earl of Surrey to Henry VIII (14 Sept., 1521), *S.P. Hen. VIII*, II. 83.

[2] An interesting account is given by the Deputy of his personal interview with O'Donnell. *S.P. Hen. VIII*, III. 318–21. Henry VIII was willing to create him Earl of Tyrconnel, but the creation was deferred until the reign of James I. Most of the indentures of submission are calendared in the *Cal. Carew MSS.*

(3) He shall keep and put such of the lands granted to him as are meet for tillage "in manurance and tillage of husbandry," and cause houses to be builded for such persons as shall be necessary for the manurance thereof.

(4) He shall not take, put, or cess any imposition or charge upon the King's subjects, inhabitors of the said lands, other than their yearly rent or custom, but such as the Deputy shall be content with; nor have any gallowglass or kerne [1] but such as shall stand with the contentation of the Deputy and Council.

(5) He shall be obedient to the King's laws, and answer to his writs, precepts and commandments in the Castle of Dublin, or in any other place where his courts shall be kept.

(6) He shall go with the King's Deputy to all hostings, "rodes" and journeys (hostile incursions), with such a company as the Marchers of the county of Dublin do.

(7) He shall not maintain or succour any of the King's enemies, rebels, or traitors.

(8) He shall hold his lands by whole knight's fees.

(6) Grant of English Titles. [*Cal. Patent Rolls* (ed. Morrin), I. 85–6.]

Grant to Con O'Neill, for the term of his life, of the title of Earl of Tyrone, and after his death to his son Matthew, otherwise Ferdorcha O'Neill, and his heirs male for ever; with all the castles, manors and lordships which he formerly possessed in Tyrone; to hold of the King by knight's service upon the following conditions.[2] —1st October, 34 Hen. VIII.

Grant to William Burke, otherwise MacWilliam, of the title and dignity of Earl of Clanrickarde, with the castles and manors which he holds or formerly held in Clanrickarde, Dunkellin, or elsewhere in Connacht, excepting the pension of the cockets [3] of Galway, and other pensions which he pretends to hold from the Crown; and also of an annuity of £30 payable out of the Exchequer, and the monastery of Via Nova, in the diocese of Clonfert, with all the lands appurtenant thereto, and a third part of the first fruits of all rectories, vicarages, chantries, and chapels; to hold to the said William and the heirs male of his body by knight service.—1st July, 35 Hen. VIII.

Grant to Murrough O'Brien, for the term of his life, of the title and dignity of Earl of Thomond, with remainder to Donough O'Brien, for his life; and also a grant to the said Murrough and his heirs male, of the title of Baron of Inchiquin, with all the manors, castles, and suppressed monasteries which he possessed in Thomond, excepting the royalties and right of patronage of archbishoprics and

[1] See p. 87 *n.* 3.
[2] See "Articles of Submission," above.
[3] See p. 368 *n.* 1.

bishoprics; to hold by knight service without rent.—1st July, 35 Hen. VIII.

(7) "An Act for Lands given by the King" (33 Hen. VIII. c. 4).
[*Irish Statutes* (1786), I. 211–12.]

Where[as] our sovereign Lord the King's most excellent Majesty for the relief and fortification of this his Highness's Realm of Ireland, having respect to the great lack of nobility or men of honour now within the same, of his most kingly benevolence hath created, erected and enabled . . . divers persons unto names of honour and dignities within this his said Realm, endueing them with divers possessions and hereditaments . . . albeit that upon any disloyalty or digressing contrary to the duty of a subject, by any of these to whom his Highness hath so benignly granted and given any such benefit . . . being therefore duly condemned according to the due order of his Highness's laws, shall be sufficient title, right, and interest for his Highness, to seize again into his Highness's hands all manner such things premised so to fore disposed. . . . If any person or persons of what estate . . . any of them be . . do make any confederation which the law declareth to be treason, with any of his Highness's rebels against his Majesty, or attempt any wilful war or invasion against his Majesty . . . or by any other mean do transgress in any part their duty of allegiance, which the law declareth to be treason, or do not perform such covenants and pacts which shall be comprised within the said letters patent, as they . . . by their own assent . . . have or shall make covenant, agree and promise to perform . . . then every such person . . . shall lose and forfeit all such right, interest, and estate . . . [as they] shall have in any name, or names, honour or honours . . . lands, tenements, or other hereditaments.

XI. ATTEMPT TO INTRODUCE ENGLISH SPEECH AND CUSTOMS (1537)

[An Act for the English Order, Habit, and Language (28 Hen. VIII. c. 15). *Irish Statutes* (1786), I. 119–22.]

The King's Majesty, our most gracious and most redoubted sovereign Lord . . . weighing by his great wisdom, learning, and experience, how much it doth more confer to the induction of rude and ignorant people to the knowledge of Almighty God, and of the good and virtuous obedience, which by his most holy precepts and commandments, they owe to their princes and superiors . . . [that they should have] a conformity, concordance, and familiarity in language, tongue, in manners, order and apparel, with them that

be civil people, and do profess and acknowledge Christ's religion, and civil and politic orders, laws and directions, as his Grace's subjects of this part of this his land of Ireland, that is called the English Pale, doth . . . [and] that there is again nothing which doth more contain and keep many of his subjects of this his said land, in a certain savage and wild kind and manner of living, than the diversity that is betwixt them in tongue, language, order and habit, which by the eye deceiveth the multitude, and persuadeth unto them, that they should be as it were of sundry sorts, or rather of sundry countries, where indeed they be wholly together one body, whereof his Highness is the only head under God . . . doth not only desire that all such good laws, as by wise, godly and prudent princes, his most noble progenitors, have been heretofore made for the use of the English tongue, habit and order, within this his said land, may be put in due execution, but also that the same may be so established, and in this present Parliament brought to such a perfection, that the said English tongue, habit and order, may be from henceforth continually . . . used by all men that will acknowledge themselves . . . to be his Highness's true and faithful subjects. . . . Wherefore be it enacted . . . that no person or persons, the King's subjects within this land being . . . shall be shorn, or shaven above the ears, or use the wearing of hair upon their heads, like unto long locks called "glibes" [1] or have or use any hair growing upon their upper lips, called or named a "crom-meal," [2] or use or wear any shirt, smock, kerchief, "bendel," [3] neck handkerchief, "mocket" [4] or linen cap, coloured or dyed with saffron, nor yet use, or wear in any their shirts or smocks above 7 yards of cloth, to be measured according to the King's standard, and that also no woman use or wear any "kyrtell" (skirt), or coat tucked up, or embroidered or garnished with silk, nor couched nor laid with "usker" [5] after the Irish fashion; and that no person or persons . . . shall use or wear any mantles, coat or hood made after the Irish fashion. . . .

And be it enacted that every person or persons, the King's true subjects, inhabiting this land of Ireland, of what estate, condition or degree he or they be, or shall be, to the uttermost of their power, cunning and knowledge, shall use and speak commonly the English tongue and language . . . [and] shall bring up . . . his . . . children in such places, where they shall or may have occasion to learn the English tongue, language, order and condition.

And further, be it enacted . . . that every the said person or persons having or keeping any house or household, shall, to their

[1] The Irish *glib* was a thick mass of hair worn on the forehead and sometimes drawn down over the eyes. See Spenser, *View*, p. 632.

[2] Ir., *crombéal*, a moustache.

[3] Scarf or fillet.

[4] A bib or handkerchief.

[5] Gaelic, *usgar*, a jewel or ornament.

power, knowledge and ability, use and keep their houses and households, as near as ever they can, according to the English order, condition and manner. . . .

XII. IMMEDIATE EFFECT OF HENRY VIII'S IRISH POLICY

(1) A Prophecy of Peace. [Sir Thomas Cusack to the Privy Council in England (1541). *S.P. Hen. VIII,* III. 326–27.]

Forasmuch as the Irishmen in Ireland be in opinion among themselves, that Englishmen one day will banish them, and put them from their lands for ever . . . which causeth them, when opportunity serves them, to persevere in war and mischief; and now they having their lands of the King's Majesty, by his Grace's letters patent, whereby they may stand in assurance of their lands, and being accepted as subjects, where before they were taken as Irish enemies, which is the chiefest mean, by good wisdom, to continue them in peace and obedience.

These commodities shall ensue by the taking of their lands by the King's grant :—Because their custom is, that all their children . . . shall inherit . . . the father, being lord of the country, will extort the inferior, and by "cavillations" (captious objections) pluck from him his lands, to the intent that every of his children shall have lands and possessions; whereas, if their lands descend to none but to one, there should be no such abuse used.[1] . . .

Whereas, before this time, they had no law amongst them, but a law called the Brehon's law, which is grounded upon customs of the country, and for felonies, murders, or any such offences there was nothing used, but fines and penalties taken, and no due execution done,[2] although the offences were never so great, and they would take the custom for a law . . . and the inferior persons could have no right against the lord of the country, for the judge would give no judgement against the lord, but by his own assent, and by such means kept the poor people in bondage and poverty, so that they knew no law, but the same, which caused them so long to stray from the King's Majesty, for lack of knowledge of a law.

Item, another commodity is, that they perceiving to be in assurance of their lands, and that they be accepted like as other the King's Majesty's subjects there, and they feeling and knowing the commodity of the King's laws, and that the poor men shall have remedy against the lords of the country, and by their own law none

[1] Cusack seems to have confused the Irish practices of tanistry and gavelkind. See pp. 58–9.

[2] See p. 316 *n.* 2

of them shall have remedy against the other, but by war, manslaughter, burning, and preying; and if they put their idle men, as kerne and other to labour, and to occupy husbandry, by the which their men of war will decay, and their substance increase, and then they will be loth to war, fearing to have their countries destroyed, and to lose their substance; for the great occasion of their war is poverty, for when they have nothing to lose, they "force" not what war to make (i.e. they care not how they make war).

Item, so long as the Earl of Desmond, O'Brien, MacWilliam Burke, and O'Donnell be sure to the King's Majesty, all the other Irishmen of Ireland shall never be able to do great harm to the English Pale; for all the other Irishmen have made their war upon hope of the other's aid and succour.

(2) The Irish lament St. Leger's Departure. [Sir Thomas Cusack to Sir Thomas Paget (28 March, 1546). *S.P. Hen. VIII*, III. 563.]

At my Lord Deputy's departing here hence,[1] he sent as well for the Earls of Desmond, Thomond and Tyrone . . . with divers other Irish lords, as also for all the English lords of this Realm; and they assembling together in Dublin, I could not perceive none of better conformity than those Irish lords, promising to help to see the country defended, as need shall require from time to time, to the uttermost of their powers, till the return of my Lord Deputy; weeping and lamenting his departing, giving his Lordship commendation and praise, in thanking God of his coming amongst them; ascribing, that if such truth and gentleness had been showed to them by the governors and rulers that were before his time, they had been reformed, as well then as now: and being so much in despair of his return, they lament therefore his departing; the more, because they found him so good and just in his proceedings, who never took of them nothing, but would give apparel and plate to them, and to his power would not suffer wrong to be done to them, whereby they felt both wealth and quietness. So that, thanks be to God, those, which would not be brought under subjection with 10,000 men, cometh to Dublin with a letter, which is no small comfort to every faithful heart to see. Finally, this land was never, by our remembrance, in so good case, nor nothing like, for honest obedience; and after that cometh the profit to the King's Majesty, if they continue in the quietness they be in at this instant.[2]

[1] St. Leger was appointed Lord Deputy on 7th July, 1540. He left for England in the spring of 1546, but returned in December, and was confirmed in office by Edward VI.

[2] St. Leger wrote to Henry VIII of the Irish chiefs: "I perceive them to be men of such nature, that they will much sooner be brought to honest conformity by small gifts, honest persuasions, and nothing taking of them, than by great rigour. And, God willing, when your Majesty once hath their obedience, profit will soon follow" (21 Feb., 1541). —*S.P. Hen. VIII*, III. 290.

(3) State of the Country in 1553. [Sir Thomas Cusack,[1] Lord Chancellor of Ireland, to the Duke of Northumberland (8 May, 1553). *Cal. Carew MSS.*, I. 245–6.]

The policy that was devised for the sending of the Earls of Desmond, Thomond, Clanrickarde and Tyrone, and the Baron of Upper Ossory, O'Carrol, Magennis and others into England was a great help of bringing those countries to good order, for none of them [who] went into England committed harm upon the King's Majesty's subjects. The winning of the Earl of Desmond was the winning of the rest of Munster with small charges. The making O'Brien an Earl made all that country obedient. The making of MacWilliam Earl of Clanrickarde, made all the country during his time quiet and obedient, as it is now. The making of McGilpatrick Baron of Upper Ossory hath made his country obedient, and the having of their lands by Dublin is such a gage upon them as they will not forfeit the same through wilful folly.[2] And the gentleness that my Lord Deputy doth devise among the people with wisdom and indifference doth profit and make sure the former civility, so as Presidents in Munster, Connacht and Ulster will by God's grace make all Ireland without great force to be obedient, and all Ireland being made shire land that the law may take his right course, and all men through good persuasions brought to take their lands of the King's Majesty to them and their heirs for ever, and preachers appointed among them to tell their duties towards God and their King, that they may know what they ought to do. And as for preaching, we have none, which is our most lack, without which the ignorant can have no knowledge, which were very needful to be redressed. Irishmen were never so weak, and the English subjects never so strong as now.

(4) English Popular View of Henry VIII's Irish Policy. [William Thomas,[3] *The Pilgrim: A Dialogue on the Life and Actions of King Henry VIII* (1552). Pr. and ed. by J. A. Froude (1861), pp. 66–8.]

You must understand that the Kings of England have had dominion over a great part of Ireland these 300 years and more, by reason whereof both the country and nation hath been divided

[1] Sir Thomas Cusack was acting as Lord Justice at this time in the absence of the Lord Deputy.

[2] Each of the newly made Irish peers had had small estates granted to them near Dublin, for the accommodation of their horses and servants if they should attend Parliament.

[3] Thomas was a Welshman, educated at Oxford, who left England for Italy at the end of Henry VIII's reign, possibly on account of his religious opinions. On the news of the King's death he held a discussion upon Henry's policy with some Italian gentlemen at Bologna, of which he published an account in 1552. This was reprinted and edited by Froude in 1861. The work is held to represent the popular view of the character of Henry current in England at the time of his death. See art. on Thomas, *Dict. Nat. Biography*.

into 2 sundry parts, that is to say, the English Pale and the wild Irish; and like as they of the English Pale always used the self-same religion, customs, laws, and manners of civil living that we use in England, so contrariwise they of the wild Irish, as unreasonable beasts, lived without any knowledge of God or good manners, in common of their goods, cattle, women, children and every other thing . . . nor yet any justice executed for murder, robbery, or any other like mischief; but the more force had ever the more reason. And hereof it followed that because their savage and idle life could not be satisfied with the only fruit of the natural unlaboured earth, therefore continually they invaded the fertile possessions of their Irish neighbours that inhabited the said English Pale, reaping and mowing the corn that they sowed not, and carrying away the cattle that they nourished not. And this beastly fury which so long had reigned in this Irish nation, hath many times moved the King's predecessors with all their forces, and with great and puissant armies, to seek their destruction; but like as one poor fox in a thicket maketh the hunter with twenty couple of hounds to travail sometimes a whole day, and at length to lose his labour; so these wild Irish made those Kings with their huge numbers of men, to beat so long the wild woods and marshes, that at length they were fain to recoil with the only gain of famine and weariness. And therefore the King's Majesty that now is dead wrought another way with them; for he laid in such substantial garrisons in the straits of his borders, that they could no more enter into the English Pale, unless they would either be slain or taken prisoners; so that, being prevented of their accustomed liberty to rob and spoil, necessity constrained them to humble themselves not only to a perpetual peace, but also to a quiet obedience and order. Yea, and when his Majesty, by policy and by the good diligence of his faithful Deputy there, Sir Anthony St. Leger, had thus overcome them, to confirm his force with mercy, he rewarded divers of those wild men with great sums of his own money, appointing them places of civil honour, as earls, barons, knights, esquires, and such other as the quality of those persons seemed unto him most convenient. And by this means hath brought the nation from rude, beastly, ignorant, cruel and unruly infidels, to the state of civil, reasonable, patient, humble, and well-governed Christians; not for desire of dominion or for avarice of revenue, but for God's honour and for a Christian peace, at his Majesty's own cost and charge, in the expense of so many thousand crowns as were too long now to tell.[1]

[1] Englishmen at this period knew little at first hand of Irish manners and customs. See p. 57.

PART II

THE REFORMATION

XIII. HENRY VIII DECLARED HEAD OF THE CHURCH

(1) Advice of Archbishop Browne. [Letter to Cromwell (4 Dec., 1535). Pr. in Cardinal Moran's *History of the Catholic Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 6.]

My most honoured Lord :—

Your humble servant, receiving your mandate as one of His Highness's commissioners,[1] hath endeavoured, almost to the danger and hazard of his temporal life, to procure the nobility and gentry of this nation (Ireland) to due obedience in owning of his Highness their supreme head, as well spiritual as temporal, and do find much oppugning therein, especially by my brother Armagh,[2] who hath been the main oppugner, and so hath withdrawn most of his suffragans and clergy within his see and jurisdiction. He made a speech to them laying a curse on the people whosoever should own his Highness's supremacy saying that [this] isle—as it is in their Irish chronicles, *Insula Sacra*—belongs to none but the Bishop of Rome [who] gave it to the King's ancestors.[3] . . . Your Lordship may inform his Highness that it is convenient to call a Parliament in this nation, to pass the supremacy by Act, for they do not much matter[4] his Highness's commission, which your Lordship sent us over. . . . This island hath been for a long time held in ignorance by the Romish orders. . . . The common people of this isle are more zealous in their blindness than the saints and martyrs were in truth, at the beginning of the Gospel.

(2) Opposition of the Proctors.[5] [Sir William Brabazon[6] to Cromwell (17 May, 1536). *S.P. Hen. VIII*, II. 315–16.]

Please your honourable Mastership to be advertised, that these Acts subsequent be passed the Common House; the Act of

[1] See p. 26.

[2] George Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh.

[3] By virtue of the supposed Donation of Constantine, Adrian IV had conferred the Lordship of Ireland upon Henry II.

[4] i.e. attach much importance to.

[5] The functions of the proctors, who represented the clergy, and sat in the Lower House had not yet been determined. Owing to their attitude on this occasion, and to the opposition which they offered later to the dissolution of the monasteries, they were deprived of their suffrages by a special Act.—28 Hen. VIII, c. 12.

[6] Vice-Treasurer and later Lord Justice of Ireland.

Attainder[1] . . . the Act of the First Fruits;[2] the Act of the Supreme Head . . . the Act of Appeals.[3] . . . The proctors of the spirituality somewhat do stick in divers of these Acts, and loth they are, that the King's Grace should be the supreme head of the Church. Divers of these Acts are passed the Higher House, and lack nothing but the royal assent. . . The Common House is marvellous good for the King's cause, and all the learned men within the same be very good; so that I think all causes concerning the King's Grace will take good effect.

(3) An Act authorising the King, his Heirs and Successors, to be Supreme Head of the Church of Ireland (28 Hen. VIII, c. 5). [*Irish Statutes* (1786), I. 90.]

Like as the King's Majesty justly and rightfully is and ought to be supreme head of the Church of England, and so is recognised by the clergy, and authorised by an Act of Parliament made and established in the said Realm: so in like manner of wise, forasmuch as this land of Ireland is depending and belonging justly and rightfully to the imperial Crown of England, for increase of virtue in Christ's religion within the said land of Ireland, and to repress and extirp[ate] all errors, heresies, and other enormities and abuses, heretofore used in the same: be it enacted by authority of this present Parliament, that the King our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, Kings of the said Realm of England, and Lords of this said land of Ireland, shall be accepted, taken, and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the whole Church of Ireland . . . and shall have and enjoy, annexed and united to the imperial Crown of England, as well the title and style thereof, as all honours, dignities, pre-eminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits, and commodities to the said dignity of supreme head of the same Church belonging and appertaining, and that our said sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, Kings of the said Realm of England, and Lords of this land of Ireland, shall have full power and authority from time to time to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner spiritual authority or jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for the conservation of peace, unity and tranquillity of this land of Ireland: any usage,

[1] The persons attainted were Gerald, late Earl of Kildare, his son Thomas, and some of his partisans (28 Hen. VIII, c. 1).

[2] 28 Hen. VIII, c. 8. This Act required that all persons nominated to any ecclesiastical preferment should pay to the King one year's profit of the same.

[3] 28 Hen. VIII, c. 6. This Act prohibited appeals to Rome.

custom, foreign laws, foreign authority, prescription, or any other thing or things to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

XIV. EXPOSITION OF THE ROYAL SUPREMACY

(1) "The Form of the Beads." [1] [*S.P. Hen. VIII*, II. 564–5.]

Ye shall pray for the Universal Catholic Church, both quick and dead; and especially for the Church of England and Ireland. First, for Our Sovereign Lord the King, supreme head in earth immediate under God of the said Church of England and Ireland. And for the declaration of the truth thereof, ye shall understand, that the unlawful jurisdiction, power, and authority, of long time usurped by the Bishop of Rome, in England and Ireland, who then was called Pope, is now by God's law justly, lawfully, and upon good grounds, reasons, and causes, by authority of Parliament, and by and with the whole consent and agreement of all the bishops, prelates, and both the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and also the whole clergy both of England and Ireland, extinct and ceased for ever, as of no strength, value, or effect in the Church of England or Ireland. In the which Church, the said whole clergy, bishops and prelates, with the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, have, according to God's laws, and upon good and lawful reasons and grounds, acknowledged the King's Highness to be supreme head in earth, immediate under God, of this Church of England and Ireland; which their knowledge confessed, being now by Parliament established, and by God's laws justifiable to be justly executed, so ought every true Christian subject of this land not only to acknowledge, and obediently recognise the King's Highness to be supreme head in earth of the Church of England and Ireland, but also to speak, publish, and teach their children and servants the same, and to show unto them, how that the said Bishop of Rome hath heretofore usurped not only upon God, but also upon our princes.

Wherefore . . . I exhort you all, that ye deface him in all your primers, and other books, where he is named Pope, and that ye shall have from henceforth no confidence or trust in him, nor in his bulls or letters of pardons, which, beforetime, with his juggling, casts of binding and loosing, he sold unto you for your money, promising you therefore forgiveness of your sins, where of truth no man can forgive sins, but God only; and also that ye fear not his great thunder claps of excommunication, or interdiction, for

[1] This exhortation was drawn up by Archbishop Browne, for the benefit of his clergy, after the King's supremacy had been confirmed by Parliament. For the manner in which it was received, see p. 124.

they cannot hurt you ; but let us put all our confidence and trust in our Saviour, Jesus Christ, which is gentle and loving, and requireth nothing of us, when we have offended Him, but that we should repent and forsake our sins, and believe steadfastly that He is Christ, the son of the living God, and that He died for our sins, and so forth, as it is contained in the *Credo* ; and that through Him, and by Him, and by none other, we shall have remission of our sins *a pœna et a culpa*, according to His promises made to us in many and divers places of Scripture.

(2) Archbishop Browne Complains of his Clergy. [Letter to Cromwell (8 Jan., 1538). *S.P. Hen. VIII*, II. 539.]

It may please your lordship to be advertised, that within the parts of Ireland, which grieveth me very sore, yea, and that within the diocese of Dublin, and province of the same, where the King's power ought to be best known, where it hath pleased his most excellent Highness, through your good lordship's preferment, to make me, under his Grace, a spiritual officer, and chief over the clergy ; yet, that notwithstanding, neither by gentle exhortation, evangelical instruction, neither by oaths of them solemnly taken, nor yet by threats of sharp correction, can I persuade or induce any, either religious or secular, since my coming over, once to preach the word of God, or the just title of our most illustrious prince. And yet, before that our most dread Sovereign was declared to be (as he ever was in deed) supreme head over the Church committed unto his princely care, they that then could and would, very often even till the right Christians were weary of them, preach after the old sort and fashion, will now not once open their lips in any pulpit, for the manifestation of the same, but in corners, and such company as them liketh, they can full earnestly utter their opinions ; and so much as in them lieth, hindereth and plucketh back among the people the labour that I do take in that behalf.

[Letter to Cromwell (8 May, 1538). *S.P. Hen. VIII*, III. 6–7.]

It may please you, at this present, to be advertised, that on the first Sunday in May, being with us the Translation of Saint Owen, in whose church a Prebendary of Saint Patrick's, named Humphrey . . . singing High Mass at that day, because he is there parson, at the time when that the "Beads" is customarily read, after the form and manner as I have devised, and set them forth for all curates, he himself thought scorn to read them. Wherefore his parish priest, according unto his oath went up into the pulpit, and there began to read them unto the people. He had "unnethes"

(hardly) read three or four lines but the parson began the Preface, and the choir sang, in so much that the "Beads" were unbidden. and certain of the parish presented it unto me. Then I considered this man . . . [and] committed him unto ward, till I hear further of the King's pleasure.

(3) Letter of Rebuke addressed to Archbishop Browne by Henry VIII (31 July, 1537). [*S.P. Hen. VIII*, II. 465.]

Right Reverend Father in God, trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Signifying unto you, that whereas, before your promotion and advancement to that order, dignity, and authority of an archbishop, ye showed an appearance of such entire zeal and affection, as well to the setting forth and preaching the sincere Word of God, and avoiding of all superstition used against the honour of the same, as to employ yourself always diligently for your part to procure the good furtherance of any our affairs, as much as in you lay, and might appear to be to our contentment and satisfaction, that thinking your mind to be so earnestly fixed upon the same, that ye would persevere and continue still in that your good purpose; yet nevertheless, as we do both partly perceive, and partly by sundry advertisements and ways be informed, the good opinion that we had conceived of you is, in manner, utterly frustrate. For neither do ye give yourself to the instruction of our people there in the Word of God, nor frame yourself to stand us in any stead for the furtherance of our affairs; such is your lightness in behaviour, and such is the elation of your mind in pride, that glorying in foolish ceremonies, and delighting in *WE* and *US*, in your dream comparing yourself so near to a prince in honour and estimation, that all virtue and honesty is almost banished from you. Reform yourself, therefore, with this gentle advertisement; and do first your duty towards God in the due execution of your office; do then your duty towards us in the advancement of our affairs there, and in the signification hither, from time to time, of the state of the same; and we shall put your former negligence in oblivion. If this will not serve to induce you to it, but that ye will still so persevere in your fond folly and ingrate ungentleness, that ye cannot remember what we have done, and how much above many others ye be bound, in all the points before touched, to do your duty, let it sink into your remembrance, that we be as able, for the not doing thereof, to remove you again, and to put another man of more virtue and honesty in your place, both for our discharge against God, and for the comfort of our good subjects there, as we were at the beginning to prefer you, upon hope that ye would in the same do your office, as to your profession, and our opinion conceived of you, appertaineth.

XV. DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES

(1) Royal Commissions. [*Cal. Patent Rolls* (ed. Morrin), I. 54-5.]

A

Royal Commission, directed to John Alen, Chancellor, George, Archbishop of Dublin, William Brabazon, Vice-Treasurer, Robert Cowley, Master of the Rolls, and Thomas Cusack, Esq., reciting that, "from information of trustworthy persons, it being manifestly apparent that the monasteries, abbeys, priories, and other places of religious or regulars in Ireland, are at present in such a state that in them the praise of God and the welfare of man are next to nothing regarded; the regulars and nuns dwelling there being so addicted, partly to their own superstitious ceremonies, partly to the pernicious worship of idols, and to the pestiferous doctrines of the Romish pontiff, that, unless an effectual remedy be promptly provided, not only the weak lower order, but the whole Irish people, may be speedily infected, to their total destruction, by the example of these persons"; to prevent, therefore, the longer continuance of such religious men and nuns in so damnable a state, the King (having resolved to resume into his hands all the monasteries and religious houses, for their better reformation, to remove from them the religious men and women, and to cause them to return to some honest mode of living, and to the true religion), directs the commissioners to signify this his intention to the heads of the religious houses; to receive their resignations and surrenders willingly tendered; to grant to those tendering it liberty of exchanging their habit and of accepting benefices under the King's authority, to apprehend and punish such as adhere to the usurped authority of the Romish pontiff, and contumaciously refuse to surrender their houses: to take charge, for the King's use, of the possessions of those houses, and assign competent pensions to those persons who willingly surrender.—7th April, 30 Hen. VIII.

B

Commission to John Alen, Chancellor, William Brabazon, Vice-Treasurer, and Robert Cowley, Master of the Rolls, appointing them to survey and value the rents and revenues of the dissolved monasteries and religious houses,[1] upon their surrender, and to grant the possessions thereof in spiritualities and temporalities for the term of 21 years; reserving to the Crown, the plate, jewels and principal ornaments; and the residue thereof to put to sale to pay the wages of the officers and servants; and to assign to the heads and conventual persons competent pensions[2] to main-

[1] The extents of the possessions of the monasteries taken in 1540–1 are given in *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, XVI, No. 778.

[2] The pensions were charged on the lands of the dissolved houses. Many monks must have left for the Continent. See Bagwell, *Ireland Under the Tudors*, I. 317.

tain them during their lives, or until they shall be preferred to some promotion or benefice.—20th May, 31 Hen. VIII.

(2) A Protest. [The Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland to Cromwell (21 May, 1539). *S.P. Hen. VIII,* III. 130–1.]

May it please your honourable Lordship to be advertised, that by the report of Thomas Cusack and others repaired lately out of the Realm of England into this land, it hath been openly "bruted" (reported) the King's pleasure to be, that all the monasteries within this land should be suppressed, none to stand. Amongst which, for the common weal of this said land, if it might stand with the King's most gracious pleasure, by your good Lordship's advertisement, in our opinions it were right expedient, that six houses should stand and continue, changing their clothing and rule into such sort and order, as the King's Grace shall will them: which are named St. Mary's Abbey, adjoining to Dublin, a house of White Monks;[1] Christ's Church, a house of Canons, situate in the midst of the city of Dublin; the nunnery of Grace-Dieu in the county of Dublin; Conall in the county of Kildare; Kells and Jerpoint in the county of Kilkenny. For in those houses commonly, and other such like, in default of common inns, which are not in this land,[2] the King's Deputy, and all other his Grace's Council and officers, also Irishmen, and others resorting to the King's Deputy in these quarters, is and hath been most commonly lodged, at the costs of the said houses. Also in them, young men and children, both gentlemen's children and others, both of man-kind and woman-kind, be brought up in virtue, learning, and in the English tongue and behaviour, to the great charges of the said houses; that is to say, the women-kind of the whole Englishry of this land, for the more part, in the said nunnery, and the men-kind in the other said houses. And the said house of St. Mary's Abbey hath been the common resort of all such of reputation, as hath repaired hither out of England. And in Christ's Church, Parliaments, Councils, and the common resort, in term time, for definitions of all matters by judges and learned men is, for the more part, used. Also at every hosting, "rode" and journey, the said houses, on their proper costs, findeth as many men of war, as they are appointed by the King's Deputy and Council, for the same. And if they were suppressed, the profit of them should scarcely find so many men of war, according the rate of the King's wages, as they, now standing, do find and hath found; over and besides the yearly payment both of subsidy, also the twenty part of their small revenue, with also their first fruits, with every change of their head rulers. For which causes, and others moved and

[1] Cistercians. [2] See p. 355.

reasoned amongst the Council, it was thought, the King's most gracious pleasure standing therewith, more for the common weal of this land, and the King's honour and profit, that the said six houses, changing their habits and rules, after such sort as shall please the King's Majesty, should stand, than the profit that should to the King's Grace grow by their suppression.[1]

(3) Sale of Monastic Lands. [Henry VIII to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland (1541). *S.P. Hen. VIII*, III. 295–6.]

Where you desire to have the knowledge and determination of our pleasure touching the sale of the late friars houses . . . you shall understand, first, our pleasure is, that the same shall be duly surveyed . . . second, we should you should well weigh and consider, where any of the same standeth meet and necessary for our own use; and if there be any such, rather to reserve them, now they be in our own hands, to our commodity, than after to our charge to seek and purvey at other men's pleasures; and yet, in the mean season, to lack that were meet for us; third, we would you should have special regard, who shall desire the preferment of the same; for we would, that they should be sold to men of honesty, and good disposition to civility, or to the townships where they be situate, if you shall think that the same may be commodious to them, and the rather maintain them in surety, and in civil manner and living, and fourth, that a certificate shall be made unto us quarterly, of the money growing of the same; and that the said money be employed to the defraying of our necessary charges there.

(4) Grant to the City of Dublin. [Cal. of Fiants, Hen. VIII, No. 70. *7th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, Ireland.*]

Grant to the Mayor, Bailiffs, Citizens and Commonalty of Dublin, in consideration of their services during the rebellion of Thomas Fitzgerald; of the site of the priory of All Saints near Dublin, with all appurtenances in the counties of Dublin, Meath, Kildare, Louth, Tipperary, Kilkenny and elsewhere. To hold for ever, at a rent of £4 4*s*. 0¾*d*.[2]—4th Feb., 1539.

XVI. DESTRUCTION OF RELICS

An Irish Account of the Reformation. [*Annals of the Four Masters*[3] (ed. and tr. O'Donovan), V. 1445–9.]

A heresy and a new error [sprang up] in England, through pride, vainglory, avarice and lust, and through many strange

[1] No attention seems to have been paid to this and similar protests.—P. Wilson, *Begs. Mod. Ireland*, p. 276.

[2] The corporation gave this site for the erection of Trinity College. See pp. 137–8.

[3] See p. 94 *n.* 3.

sciences, so that the men of England went into opposition to the Pope and to Rome. They at the same time adopted various opinions, and [among others] the old law of Moses, in imitation of the Jewish people; and they styled the King the Chief Head of the Church of God in his own Kingdom. New laws and statutes were enacted by the King and Council according to their own will. They destroyed the orders to whom worldly possessions were allowed, namely the Monks, Canons, Nuns, Brethren of the Cross, and the four poor orders, i.e. the orders of the Minors, Preachers, Carmelites, and Augustinians; and the lordships and livings of all these were taken up for the King. They broke down the monasteries, and sold their roofs and bells, so that from Aran of the Saints [1] to the Muir nIocht [2] there was not one monastery that was not broken and shattered, with the exception of a few in Ireland, of which the English took no notice or heed. They afterwards burned the images, shrines, and relics, of the saints of Ireland and England; [3] they likewise burned the celebrated image of [the Blessed Virgin] Mary at Trim, which used to perform wonders and miracles, which used to heal the blind, the deaf, the crippled, and persons affected with all kinds of diseases: and [they also burned] the staff of Jesus, which was in Dublin, performing miracles, from the time of St. Patrick down to that time, and had been in the hands of Christ while he was among men. They also appointed archbishops and sub-bishops for themselves; and, though great was the persecution of the Roman emperors against the Church, scarcely had there ever come so great a persecution from Rome as this; so that it is impossible to narrate or tell its description, unless it should be narrated by one who saw it.

XVII. ORDER FOR THE LITURGY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND TO BE READ IN IRELAND

(1) Instructions given to the Lord Deputy by Edward VI.

["Historical Collections of the Church of Ireland." *Harleian Miscellany*, V. 600.]

To our trusty and well-beloved Sir Anthony St. Leger, knt., our chief Governor of our Kingdom of Ireland.

Edward by the grace of God, etc.

[1] The Island of Aranmore in Galway Bay.

[2] i.e. the English Channel. The annalists are evidently referring to Henry VIII's two kingdoms.

[3] A royal commission was appointed on the 3rd Feb., 1539, to enquire as to the whereabouts of notable images or relics "at which . . . the simple people . . . were wont superstitiously to meet together." When found they were to be broken or carried away. —Mant, *Hist. of the Church of Ireland*, I. 159–60.

Whereas our gracious father, King Henry VIII of happy memory, taking into consideration the bondage and heavy yoke that his true and faithful subjects sustained under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, as also the ignorance the commonalty were in; how several fabulous stories and lying wonders misled our subjects in both our Realms of England and Ireland; grasping thereby the means thereof into their hands, also dispensing with the sins of our nations by their indulgences and pardons, for gain, purposely to cherish all evil vices, as robberies, rebellion, thefts, whoredoms, blasphemy, idolatry, etc. He, our gracious father King Henry of happy memory, hereupon dissolved all priories, monasteries, abbeys, and other pretended religious houses, as being but nurseries for vice or luxury, more than for sacred learning. He therefore, that it might more plainly appear to the world, that those orders had kept the light of the Gospel from his people, thought it most fit and convenient for the preservation of their souls and bodies, that the Holy Scriptures should be translated, printed and placed in all parish churches within his dominions, for his faithful subjects to increase their knowledge of God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ. We, therefore, for the general benefit of our well-beloved subjects' understandings, whenever assembled or met together, in the said several parish churches, either to pray or to hear prayers read, that they may the better join therein, in unity, heart and voice, have caused the liturgy and prayers of the Church to be translated into our mother tongue of this Realm of England, according to the assembly of divines lately met within the same, for that purpose. We therefore will and command, as also authorise you, Sir Anthony St. Leger, knt., our Viceroy of that our Kingdom of Ireland, to give special notice to all our clergy, as well archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, as others our secular parish priests within our said Realm of Ireland, to perfect, execute and obey this our royal will and pleasure accordingly.

Given at our Manor of Greenwich, 6th Feb., in the fifth year of our reign.—E.R.

(2) A Clerical Assembly. ["Hist. Collectns. of the Church of Ireland." *Harleian Miscellany*, V. 601.]

[1551] Before proclamations were issued out, Sir Anthony St. Leger, upon this order, called an assembly of the archbishops and bishops, together with others of the then clergy of Ireland; in which assembly he signified unto them as well his Majesty's order aforesaid, as also the opinions of those bishops and clergy of England who had adhered unto this order, saying, "that it was his Majesty's will and pleasure, consenting unto their serious considera-

tions and opinions, then acted and agreed on in England, as to ecclesiastical matters, that the same be in Ireland so likewise celebrated and performed."

Sir Anthony St. Leger having spoken to this effect, George Dowdall, who succeeded George Cromer in the Primacy of Armagh, stood up; who, through his Romish zeal to the Pope, laboured with all his power and force to oppose the liturgy of the Church, that it might not be read or sung in the church; saying, "then shall every illiterate fellow read . . . Mass." . . .

To this saying of the Archbishop's, Sir Anthony replied, "No, your Grace is mistaken; for we have too many illiterate priests amongst us already who neither can pronounce the Latin, nor know what it means, no more than the common people that hear them; but when the people hear the liturgy in English, they and the priest will then understand what they pray for."

Upon this reply, George Dowdall bade Sir Anthony "beware of the clergy's curse."

Sir Anthony made answer, "I fear no strange curse, so long as I have the blessing of that Church which I believe to be the true one."

The Archbishop again said, "Can there be a truer Church, than the Church of Saint Peter, the Mother Church of Rome?"

Sir Anthony returned this answer: "I thought we had all been of the Church of Christ; for he calls all true believers in him his Church, and Himself the Head thereof."

The Archbishop replied: "And is not Saint Peter the Church of Christ?"

Sir Anthony returned this answer, "Saint Peter was a member of Christ's Church, but the Church was not Saint Peter's; neither was Saint Peter but Christ the head thereof."

Then George Dowdall, the Primate of Armagh, rose up, and several of the suffragan bishops under his jurisdiction, saving only Edward Staples, then Bishop of Meath, who tarried with the rest of the clergy then assembled. . . . Sir Anthony then took up the order, and held it forth to George Browne, Archbishop of Dublin, who standing up, received it saying, "This order, good brethren is from our gracious King, and from the rest of our brethren the fathers and clergy of England, who have consulted herein, and compared the Holy Scriptures with what they have done; unto whom I submit, as Jesus did unto Cæsar, in all things just and lawful, making no questions why and wherefore, as we own him our true and lawful King."[1]

[1] Although this narrative together with the letter of Archbishop Browne, printed on p. 121, have been generally accepted as genuine, it is possible that they are among the historical forgeries of Robert Ware, son of Sir James Ware, the Irish antiquarian (1594–1666). See P. Wilson, *Trans. of the Bibliogr. Soc.* (1920) xv.

XVIII. THE ACCESSION OF QUEEN MARY

(1) Instructions given by Philip and Mary to the Lord Deputy, Lord Fitzwalter[1] and the Council (28 April, 1556). [*Cal. Carew MSS.*, I. 252–3.]

Our said Deputy and Council shall, by their own good example and all other good means to them possible, advance the honour of Almighty God, the true Catholic faith and religion now by God's great goodness and special grace recovered in our Realms of England and Ireland; and namely they shall set forth the honour and dignity of the Pope's Holiness and See Apostolic of Rome, and from time to time be ready with our aid and secular force, at the request of all spiritual ministers and ordinaries there, to punish and repress all heretics and Lollards and their damnable sects, opinions, and errors.

(2) Rejoicing at Kilkenny on the Accession of Queen Mary. ["The Vocation of John Bale[2] to the Bishopric of Ossory in Ireland, his Persecutions in the same, and final Deliverance" (Rome, 1553). *Harleian Miscellany*, VI. 450–2.]

On the twentieth day of August, was the Lady Mary with us at Kilkenny proclaimed Queen of England, France and Ireland, with the greatest solemnity that there could be devised, of processions, musters and disguisings; all the noble captains and gentlemen thereabout being present. What-a-do I had that day with the prebendaries and priests about wearing the cope, crosier and mitre in procession, it were too much to write. . . . On the Thursday, which was the last day of August, I being absent, the clergy of Kilkenny, by procurement of that wicked justice Hothe, blasphemously resumed again the whole Papism, or heap of superstitions of the Bishop of Rome; to the utter contempt of Christ and His holy Word, of the King and Council of England, and of all ecclesiastical and politic order, without either statute or yet proclamation. They rung all the bells in that cathedral, minster, and parish churches: they flung up their caps to the battlement of the great temple, with smilings and laughings most dissolutely . . . they brought forth their copes, candle sticks, holy-water

[1] Sir Thomas Radcliffe, later Earl of Sussex.

[2] Bale, who was of English origin, had originally been educated in the Romish religion, but later became converted to an extreme form of Protestantism. He was nominated to the see of Ossory by Edward VI in 1552. He was extremely unpopular in his diocese, on account both of his innovations and of his overbearing manner, and at one time his life was actually in danger. In his "Vocation" he compares his sorrows and perils in Ireland to the sufferings of St. Paul. He left the country shortly after the accession of Mary, and proceeded to Switzerland. He returned to England on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, but never to his Irish diocese. See Ware's *Bishops of Ireland* (ed. Harris), pp. 415–17.

stock, cross and censers ; they mustered forth in general procession most gorgeously, all the town over, with *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis*, and the rest of the Latin litany : they chattered it, they chanted it, with great noise and devotion : they banqueted all the day after, for that they were delivered from the grace of God into a warm sun.

XIX. MISERABLE STATE OF THE IRISH CHURCH UNDER ELIZABETH

(1) Letter from Alexander Craik,[1] Bishop of Kildare, to Lord Robert Dudley (30 April, 1561). [E. P. Shirley, *Original Letters and Papers in Illustration of the History of the Church in Ireland*, pp. 95–7.]

Right honourable and my singular good Lord, my duty most humbly remembered, whereas I have hithertofore divers and sundry times molested your honour with my writings, specifying the heavy burden of my conscience . . . and as yet never received comforts by word or writing, wherefore I do most humbly beseech your honour, that like as ye were the instrument of this my continual and daily torment (I mean of my preferment unto a bishopric in such a place in Ireland where neither I can preach unto the people nor the people understand me) that ye will be the like instrument to the Queen's Majesty, that I may be exonerated and unburdened of the same, for there is not a preacher to assist me in setting forth of God's Word, or the Queen's Majesty her proceedings, saving one Mr. Loftus. . . Thus leaving off the lamenting of all my grief by pen, with distance and separation of our bodies by the interval of seas, which is not the least of my griefs, with my most humble commendations unto my honourable and good Lord . . . from my house at St. Patrick's the last day of April, by your honour his most humble and addicted servant during life.

(2) Sir Henry Sydney's[2] Account of the Diocese of Meath. [Letter to Queen Elizabeth (28 April, 1576). A. Collins, *Letters and Memorials of State* (1746), I. 112–13.]

. . . And now, most dear Mistress, and most honoured sovereign, I solely address to you, as to the only sovereign salve-giver to this your sore and sick Realm ; the lamentable state of the most noble and principal limb thereof, the Church I mean, as foul, deformed, and as cruelly crushed, as any other part thereof ; by your only gracious and religious order to be cured, or at least

[1] Appointed Bishop of Kildare by Letters Patent, 21 Aug., 1560.

[2] Sydney, at this time Lord Deputy, was perhaps the ablest of all the English governors during this period.

amended. I would not have believed, had I not for a great part viewed the same throughout the whole Realm, and was advertised of the particular state of each church in the Bishopric of Meath (being the best inhabited country of all this Realm) by the honest, zealous, and learned bishop of the same, Mr. Hugh Brady, a godly minister for the Gospel, and a good servant to your Highness, who went from church to church himself, and found, that there are within his diocese 224 parish churches, of which number 105 are impropriated to sundry possessions, now of your Highness, and all leased out for years, or in fee farm, to several farmers, and great gain reaped out of them above the rent which your Majesty receiveth ; no parson or vicar resident upon any of them, and a very simple, or sorry curate, for the most part, appointed to serve them, among which number of curates, only 18 were found able to speak English ; the rest Irish priests, or rather Irish rogues, having very little Latin, less learning, or civility. All these live upon the bare altarages (as they term them), which, God knoweth, are very small, and were wont to live upon the gain of masses, dirges, shrivings and such like trumpery, goodly abolished by your Majesty ; no one house standing for any of them to dwell in. In many places, the very walls of the churches down, very few chancels covered, windows and doors ruined or spoiled. There are 52 other parish churches in the same diocese, who have vicars endowed upon them, better served and maintained than the other, yet but badly. There are 52 parish churches more, residue of the first number of 224, which pertain to divers particular lords, and these though in better estate than the rest commonly are, yet far from well.

If this be the state of the Church in the best peopled diocese and best governed country of this your Realm (as in truth it is), easy it is for your Majesty to conjecture in what case the rest is, where little or no reformation, either of religion or manners, hath yet been planted and continued among them ; yea, so profane and heathenish are some parts of this your country become, as it hath been preached publicly before me that the sacrament of baptism is not used among them, and truly I believe it. If I should write unto your Majesty what spoil hath been, and is of the archbishoprics, whereof there are 4, and of bishoprics whereof there are above 30, partly by the prelates themselves, partly by the potentates their noisome neighbours, I should make too long a libel of this my letter ; but your Majesty may believe it, that upon the face of the earth where Christ is professed, there is not a Church in so miserable a case, the misery of which consisteth in these three particulars :—the ruin of the very temples themselves ; the want of good ministers to serve in them, when they shall be re-edified ; competent living for the ministers being well chosen. . . .

(3) Letter from William Lyon, Bishop of Cork and Ross, to Lord Hunsdon[1] (6 July, 1596). [*Cal. S.P. Ireland*, pp. 14–16.]

Our state here is very dangerous. . . . Here are five justices of peace that sit on the bench every sessions, but they never took the Oath of Supremacy to her Majesty, nor will. Two of them utterly refused at the general sessions holden in March last. Hereby they are generally mightily drawn away from their loyalty to her Majesty's godly laws now within these two years so far, that where I had a thousand or more in a church at sermon, I now have not five; and whereas I have seen 500 communicants or more, now are there not three. . . . I have caused churches to be re-edified, and provided books for every church through my diocese, as Bibles, New Testaments, Communion Books, both English and Latin . . . but none will come to the church at all, not so much as the country churls; they follow their seducers the priests and their superiors. . . . In Waterford, the Mayor and Sheriff of the city come not to church, neither will they take the Oath of Supremacy, and in this city of Cork the bailiffs refuse the oath, neither come they to the church. And I, questioning with one of the last year's bailiffs . . . for whom I sent to know the cause why he would not come to the church, nor obey any of her Majesty's ecclesiastical laws, he made me answer, that he was sworn to the league that he should never come to the church, nor obey any of her Majesty's ecclesiastical laws concerning the same.[2]

(4) Sir John Davies's Account of Clerical Abuses. [Letter to Cecil (20 Feb., 1604). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, p. 143.]

Touching the state of religion here, there are 4 archbishoprics, and under them are or should be 20 bishops at least. Has perused the book of first fruits, wherein the spiritual livings are all numbered and valued, and finds the dowry of the Church to be very great; but is informed by such as are both wise and honest, that the churchmen for the most part throughout the Kingdom are mere idols and ciphers, and such as cannot read, if they should stand in need of the benefit of their clergy; and yet the most of those, whereof many be serving men and some horse-boys, are not without 2 or 3 benefices apiece, for the Court of Faculties doth qualify all manner of persons and dispense with all manner of residence and pluralities. And yet for all their pluralities they are most of them beggars, for the patron or ordinary, or some of their friends, take the greater part of their profits by a plain contract before their institution; so that many gentlemen, and some women and some priests and Jesuits have the greatest benefit

[1] George Carey, second Lord Hunsdon (1547–1603).

[2] See p. 148.

of our benefices though these poor unlettered clerks bear the name of incumbents. Nay (that which is almost incredible, but I heard it of one that hath a place of special credit in this Kingdom), the agent or nuncio for the Pope that lieth lurking here in this land, hath £40 or £50 a year out of the profits of a parsonage within the Pale. But for an example of pluralties, the Archbishop of Cashel is worthy to be remembered, having now in his hands four bishoprics, Cashel, Waterford, Lismore, and Emly, and three score and seventeen spiritual livings besides. Should corrupt his Lordship too much if he should tell him how they disinherit their churches by long lease, there being no such laws here as are in England to restrain them.

But what is the effect of these abuses? The churches are ruined and fallen down to the ground in all parts of the Kingdom. There is no divine service, no christening of children, no receiving of the sacrament, no Christian meeting or assembly, no, not once a year; in a word, no more demonstration of religion than amongst Tartars or cannibals.

XX. ENFORCEMENT OF THE QUEEN'S SUPREMACY

[Commission to the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, the Archbishop of Armagh, etc., for putting into execution the Acts concerning the Queen's Supremacy and for visitation of the Church (1594). *Cal. Patent Rolls* (ed. Morrin), II. 291–4.]

To enquire . . . of all heretical opinions, seditious books, contempts, conspiracies, false rumours, seditious libels, tales, misbehaviours, evil education and instruction of schoolchildren by schoolmasters, slanderous words and sayings . . . set forth by any person . . . against our laws, ordinances, or proceedings in causes ecclesiastical, now maintained, allowed, or authorised in this Realm . . . and we give you full power to visit, reform, redress, order, correct and amend in all places, all such errors, heresies . . . whatsoever, which by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or jurisdiction, may be lawfully reformed, redressed, or restrained, by censures, ecclesiastical deprivation or otherwise. . . .

And we are informed that there remain within our Realm of Ireland divers perverse and obstinate persons who refuse to acknowledge . . . our prerogative and pre-eminence within our Realm . . . and also to observe such ceremonies and orders in divine service as have been established and set forth by the laws . . . we do assign, depute, and give you full power and jurisdiction to tender to all archbishops, bishops and other prelates, deans, archdeacons, etc.,

and all and every temporal judge, justice, mayor or other lay or temporal officer, the oath specified in the Act entitled "An Act restoring to the Crown, etc." [1] and against such persons, as shall peremptorily or obstinately refuse to take the oath, to proceed according to the tenor, force and effect of the statute, at your discretion. . . .

And as divers merchants and other persons have and keep divers copes, vestments, chalices, idols, crosses and other superstitious relics to the maintenance of Popery, and daily bring over divers books, works, treatises and writings, not only repugnant to our ecclesiastical laws, but also seditious to ourselves, our Crown and imperial dignity, and pernicious to our subjects, whereby enormous conspiracies mutinies and rebellious practices are caused and maintained among the people of Ireland; we therefore, give you full power and authority . . . to search as well the ships, barques or vessels, as well the shops and houses of any merchant or other person whom you shall suspect for having or keeping any such copes, vestments . . . or for bringing or laying up any such books, ballads, songs . . . the same to seize upon, take and carry away . . . and to punish such offenders . . . as you shall think meet. . . .

As divers lay persons and others in Ireland, who hold in farm or otherwise, parsonages, vicarages, chapels, offerings, tithes and other ecclesiastical livings, sometime impropriate to abbeys and other houses of pretended religion within the Realm, in the time of our dear father put down and dissolved, do neglect to repair the portions of the chancels belonging to such vicarages and chapels, and obstinately or negligently permit the chancels of the same to run into utter ruin, decay and profanation to our dishonour, and without finding fit and able ministers to serve the same . . . we give you full power . . . as well to call before you all persons, spiritual or temporal, offending in any of the premises in this clause mentioned . . . and to compel and bind them with good sureties . . . to build, repair and amend. . . .

XXI. FOUNDATION OF TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN (1591)

(1) The Queen's Warrant for Incorporation. [Letter to the Lord Deputy, the Lord Chancellor, and the Council of Ireland (29 Dec., 1591). *Cal. Patent Rolls* (ed. Morrin), II. 227.]

Whereas by your letters and the rest of our Council, joined with you, directed to our Council here, we perceive that the Mayor and the citizens of Dublin are very well disposed to grant the site of the Abbey of All Hallows, belonging to the city [2] . . . to serve

[1] 2 Eliz. c. 1, *Irish Statutes*, I. 275. [2] See p. 128.

for a college for learning, whereby knowledge and civility might be increased by the instruction of our people there, whereof many have usually heretofore used to travel into France, Italy, and Spain, to get learning in such foreign universities, where they have been infected with popery and other ill qualities, and so become evil subjects. . . . We do by these our letters, warrant and authorise you our Deputy and our Chancellor, in our name, to erect and make a foundation and corporation of a college for learning in the place aforementioned, taking order that the college may be erected and established in such manner, and with such good orders and statutes, as some other of our colleges here in England in our universities are.[1] . . .

(2) Catholic View of the Purpose of Trinity College. [Petition to the Pope from Irish Catholics in exile (1595–8). E. Hogan, *Ibernia Ignatiana seu Ibernorum societatis Jesu Patrum Monumenta collecta* (1540–1607), pp. 36–7.]

Though Ireland was once such a school of religion and learning that many came from neighbouring nations to learn, and from it went out many to spread special knowledge and faith abroad, this glory had gradually decayed, whether by frequent and fierce invasions of foreign nations (i.e. Northmen) or because of the constant civil wars among the chiefs, or by other concurrent causes. At all events the English (who) became masters of Ireland, though they corrected there some things inconsistent with the Christian religion, yet afterwards deliberately contrived to keep the natives in the gloom of barbaric ignorance, so as thus to retain them like slaves in abject obedience. Whence it happened that the Irish, though full of genuine love of the Catholic faith, were not educated enough to detect and repel that corruption of religion which for some decades of years the English have sought by fraud and force to introduce into Ireland. This policy of keeping the Irish in ignorance dates from the days when the Catholic faith flourished both in England and Ireland, but now, a year or two since, a new policy has been adopted, whereby England, devoted to heresy, may draw Ireland into the same snare, and bind it closer to itself. This is the building of a certain ample and splendid college beside Dublin, in which the Irish youth shall be taught heresy by English teachers. From this college a great danger threatens the Irish.

[Original in *Latin.*]

[1] William Cecil, Lord Burghley, was the first Chancellor of Trinity College. Adam Loftus, an Englishman educated at Cambridge, was the first Provost. Loftus became Archbishop of Armagh in 1563, and was translated to Dublin in 1567. In 1581 he was created Lord Chancellor and held this office till his death (1605).

(3) A Defence of the College. ["An Answer on behalf of the Provost and Fellows of the College, for the satisfaction of such whom it may concern to be informed touching the present state of the said College" (3 March, 1613). Pr. in J. W. Stubb's *History of the University of Dublin*, pp. 376–7.]

Whereas there are some exceptions taken to the proceedings held in the college, the first of them is this, viz. :—

Objection I. That the pensions and rents of lands which are £1,100 per annum, granted by his Majesty (James I) are not employed to the maintenance of so many students as is meet and was intended.

Answer. It is true that we have in grant from his Majesty, and in just title, so much as is particularised in the objection, but we have it not in payment and use as yet. Out of Munster we received £100 per annum : out of Ulster our payments are for the first 2 years but £500 per annum.[1] . . . so as the sum of our receipts in sure and certain yearly payment at this present is not above £700. . . . There are of students maintained at the charge of the college 65 ; namely 57 scholars and 8 fellows. The diet of these is per annum £349. Secondly, the yearly fees for the Provost, the Professors of Divinity and Humanity, the Bursar and Deans, other officers and servants, for fuel and reparations for the King's rents, do amount unto £394. Wherefore, considering that our disbursements are fully answerable to our receipts, and that we are to reserve out of them for a stock for increase of commons and fees, and for buildings also, some convenient proportion of money per annum, we cannot in reason be charged with this imputation of not maintaining a sufficient number of students. . . .

Objection II. The second exception is that the said college is of little use to the State, and therefore his Majesty is at a needless charge.

Answer. This objection is refuted by drawing into consideration the number of able and sufficient men for service of the State yielded and issued from this college within the compass of 16 years. This number, together with such as remain in the college and are fit for employment abroad, is about 46. Many of these are yet living and known men. (*Here follow* 24 *names.*)

Objection III. That the Irish are not entertained but the English.

Answer. There are at this present 30 of the Irish. And in case we could have procured a greater number of them, we would in our choice and admission willingly have preferred them before

[1] Trinity College received a grant of lands in the plantations of both Munster and Ulster.

the English ; [1] besides this Kingdom being in sundry parts thereof planted with the Britons, we are to have some regard of them.

XXII. THE MARTYRDOM OF DERMOT O'HURLEY, ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL

[Philip O'Sullivan Beare, *Historiæ Catholicæ Iberniæ Compendium* [2] (Lisbon, 1621), II. iv. c. 19.]

Dermot O'Hurley was by birth an Irishmen, the son of a gentleman, and his boyhood was, under the care of his parents, politely brought up, and instructed in the rudiments of letters. As he grew older he made such progress at Louvain and Paris in the higher studies that, if confronted with men of his own age, he was second to scarcely anyone as a grammarian : he was equal to the most eloquent as a rhetorician ; superior to most in jurisprudence ; and in theology inferior to few. Having obtained the degree of Doctor in Theology and Civil and Canon Law, he for four years publicly taught law at Louvain. Uniting to these accomplishments a splendid presence, dignity, and gravity of mind, he seemed to the supreme Pontiff, Gregory XIII, after he had spent some years at Rome and taken Holy Orders, worthy of being consecrated archbishop of Cashel. As soon as this office was imposed upon him, he returned to Ireland, to perish in that most doleful time for his country when its sceptre was swayed by Elizabeth Tudor, Queen of England, who was not only infected with the stain of most foul heresy, but was also the bitterest enemy of the Catholic faith and of holy bishops and priests. . . .

Our archbishop, with the greatest pains and zeal, administered the Sacraments to the flock of his jurisdiction, and expounded the Gospel of the Lord, confirming all in the Faith, and for nearly two years vainly sought after by the English, being protected by the care and devotion of the Irish, and disguising his identity and calling by wearing secular apparel. . . . Eventually it chanced one day while the archbishop was staying with Thomas Fleming, an

[1] A number of books in Irish were circulated by the college at this period. See Stubbs *Hist. of the Univ. of Dublin*, pp. 21–2. Bedell, the fifth Provost, (1627–9) appointed a lecture in Irish and Irish prayers. Ussher, his successor, also promoted the study of Irish by directing that a chapter of the Irish Testament should be read by an Irishman each day during dinner.—Urwick, *Early History of Trinity College, Dublin*, pp. 30–3.

[2] Don Philip O'Sullivan Beare, the nephew of Donall O'Sullivan Beare, was sent by his uncle to Spain in 1602, where after the fall of Dunboy (see p. 190, *n.* 3) he was joined by his family. He was educated at Compostella and served in the Spanish navy. He published his history at Lisbon in 1621. His people had suffered cruelly in the Irish wars, and so he writes with bitter partisanship against the English. Part of his work was translated by M. Byrne in 1903 under the title of *Ireland under Elizabeth*. This is the translation given here, by kind permission of the publishers, Messrs. Sealy, Bryers and Walker of Dublin.

Anglo-Irish baron, at his castle of Slane, in his own dominion, a grave question was started at dinner, in the presence of the squint-eyed Robert Dillon, one of the Queen's judges. The heretics, giving each his own opinion, freely proceeded to such extreme folly, that Dermot, who was present, and long kept silent, lest he should betray himself, could not any longer stand their rashness, and so, to the great astonishment of all, he easily refuted the silly doctrines of the heretics, with an air of authority, and great eloquence and learning. Hereupon Dillon was led to surmise that this was some distinguished person who might greatly obstruct heresy. He related the matter to Adam Loftus, Chancellor of Ireland, and to Henry Wallop, Lord Treasurer, both Englishmen, and with whom the government of Ireland then rested, as the Viceroy was absent. These ordered Baron Thomas, under heavy penalties, to send them the archbishop in chains. The archbishop, having meantime left Slane, was arrested by the baron and royalist emissaries in the castle at Carrick-on-Suir in the month of September 1583, whilst staying with Thomas Butler, surnamed the Black, Earl of Ormonde, who was much offended and distressed at the arrest, and afterwards did his best to rescue the bishop from the executioners, except that he did not take up arms as he ought to have done in such a case, and perhaps would have done, but that he was a Protestant. . . .

The bishop being brought to Dublin, the chief city of the Kingdom, was kept many days in chains in a dark, dismal, and fetid prison, until that day in the following year, which is kept under the name of the Lord's Supper, on which day he was attacked by the heretics in this manner; first, he was brought before Adam the Chancellor, and Henry, the Treasurer, and civilly and kindly invited to follow the tenets of the heretics, and promised large rewards on condition of abjuring his sacred character, relinquishing the office received from the Pope, and (O villainy!) entering upon the archbishopric under the Queen's authority. He told them that he was bound and resolved never to desert the Church, Faith, or Vicar of Christ Jesus for any consideration. Then the Chancellor and Treasurer endeavoured to deceive him by cunning arguments, straining every nerve to establish the truth of their falsehoods. Dermot, not relishing this, especially as he was not allowed to reply to their nonsense, bade them, stupid and ignorant men (such was his high spirit), not to offer ridiculous and false doctrines to him, an archbishop, and doctor of celebrated academies. Then the heretics, filled with anger, exclaimed: if we cannot convince you by argument, we will make you quit this, your false law, and embrace our religion or feel our power. The bishop was bound hand and foot, was thrown on the ground, and tied to a large stake. His feet and legs were encased in top boots (a kind

of boot at that time common, made of leather, and reaching above the knee) filled with a mixture of salt, bitumen, oil, tallow, pitch, and boiling water. The legs so booted were placed on iron bars, and horribly and cruelly roasted over a fire. When this torture had lasted a whole hour, the pitch, oil and other mixtures boiling up, burnt off not only the skin, but consumed also the flesh, and slowly destroyed the muscles, veins and arteries; and when the boots were taken off, carrying with them pieces of the roasted flesh, they left no small part of the bones bare and raw, a horrible spectacle for the bystanders, and scarcely credible. But the martyr, having his mind filled with thoughts of God and holy things, never uttered a word, but held out to the end of the torture with the same cheerfulness and serenity of countenance he had exhibited at the commencement of his sufferings.[1] . . . When however, in this savage way, the tyrants had failed to break the unconquerable spirit of the martyr by their more than Phalaric cruelty, he was by their order, brought back to his former prison, a foul place filled with a dense fog, ready to endure worse torments, if such could be devised.

There was at this time in Dublin, Charles MacMorris, a priest of the Society of Jesus, skilled in medicine and chirurgery, who because he was of the faith of Christ, had been imprisoned by the English, and again discharged by them on account of curing some difficult cases for certain noblemen. This man visited the holy bishop in prison, and gave him such medical treatment, that on the fourteenth day he was able to get up from his bed for a little while. The Chancellor and Treasurer, learning of this, and that the Earl of Ormonde was coming, by whose influence and power they feared Dermot would be saved, determined in their malign wickedness to put him to death as soon as possible. Fearing, however, that the people would raise a disturbance, and rescue their pastor from death if it were generally known by the citizens that he was to be executed, they ordered the dregs of their soldiers and executioners to bring out the bishop on a car, early in the morning, before sunrise, and before the people were up, and hang him on a gallows outside the city. Which being done, out of all the citizens, he was met by only two, and a certain friend who had been extremely faithful to him, and had made him his particular care from the time of his capture. These followed him; and before he was strung up the archbishop, seizing the hand of his friend, and strongly squeezing it, is said to have impressed on the palm in an indelible red colour, the sign of the Cross—a rare and holy pledge of his gratitude to his most faithful friend. Thereupon he

[1] It was Walsingham who recommended torture, "to gain his (O'Hurley's) knowledge of all foreign practices against her Majesty's State." See R. Dunlop's article in the *Dict. Nat. Biography*.

was hung by a halter made of plaited osiers,[1] and in a short time strangled, and so dying, acquired eternal reward in Heaven in the year of our Lord, 1584, on the seventh day of the month of June.[2]

XXIII. PROCLAMATIONS FOR THE BANISHMENT OF PRIESTS

(1) Decree of the President and Council of Munster (Aug. 1604). ["Miscellanea Vaticano-Hibernica (1580–1631)." *Archivium Hibernicum* (Catholic Record Society of Ireland) (1914), III. 251–2.]

As all the evils that afflicted the Province of Munster during the recent war are due to the influence of Jesuits and priests leading the people into sedition; and as their presence is a hindrance to the spread of the Gospel, it has been decided to decree capital punishment against all such priests. Wherefore all Jesuits, priests and seminarists are ordered to leave the Kingdom before the end of September of the following year.—All those known to aid and abet them shall be imprisoned and fined.—Informers to be rewarded.[3]

(2) Proclamation against Toleration in Ireland (4 July, 1605). [*Cal. S.P. Ireland,* pp. 301–3.]

[James I] is informed that his subjects in the Realm of Ireland have since the decease of Queen Elizabeth, been much abused by an untrue suggestion and report to the effect that he purposes to give liberty of conscience or toleration of religion to his subjects in that Kingdom, contrary to the express laws and statutes therein enacted, and to that uniformity of religion which has ever been constantly professed by him and is universally used and observed in his other dominions and countries.[4] This false rumour is not only a secret imputation upon him, as if he were more remiss or less careful in the government of the Church of Ireland than of those other Churches whereof he has the supreme charge, but also divers of his subjects in that Kingdom are heartened and encouraged to continue in their

[1] The withen rope used in execution was possibly a mark of ignominy.

[2] An account of O'Hurley is given by Cardinal Moran in his edition of Rothe's *Analecta* (1619), pp. xiii–xlvi.

[3] This proclamation had little effect, for on the 6th Sept., 1607, the Earl of Thomond wrote to Lord Salisbury that there were large numbers of priests in Munster.—*Cal. S.P. Irel.*, p. 258.

[4] See a portion of a treatise by Peter Lombard, Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, resident at Rome, addressed to James in 1604, in which he expresses the gratification of the Irish at his accession. He mentions reports of the King's intended toleration to Irish Catholics, and after an expatiation on the sufferings of his mother, Mary, Queen of Scots, advises him to embrace the Catholic faith.—"Archives of the Jesuits in Ireland," *Reports Hist. MSS. Comm.*, X., Append. v.

superstition and recusancy; and such Jesuits, seminary priests, and other priests and bishops ordained by foreign authority, as did secretly before lurk in sundry parts of that Realm, do now more boldly and presumptuously show and declare themselves in the use and exercise of their functions, and in contempt of the King, his laws and religion. He has therefore thought meet to declare and publish to all his loving subjects in the Realm of Ireland his high displeasure with the report and rumour, and with the authors and spreaders thereof, and his resolve never to do any act that may confirm the hopes of any creature, that they shall ever have from him any toleration to exercise any other religion than that which is agreeable to God's Word, and is established by the laws of the Realm. By this public act he desires to declare to all his subjects his resolution; and he straightly admonishes and commands those of that Realm from henceforth duly to resort and come to their several parish churches or chapels, to hear divine service every Sunday and Holy Day, according to the tenor and intent of the laws and statutes, upon the pains and penalties contained therein, which he will have from henceforth duly put into execution.

And being advertised that a great number of seminary priests, Jesuits, and other priests made by foreign authority, range up and down in that Kingdom, and not only seduce the people there to embrace their superstitious ceremonies, but maliciously endeavour to alienate the hearts of his subjects from himself by insinuating and breeding a distaste in them both for his religion and his civil government, taking upon themselves the ordering and deciding of causes both before and after they have received judgements in the King's Courts of Record—he declares, publishes and proclaims, that it is his will and commandment that all Jesuits, seminary priests, or other priests whatsoever, made and ordained by any authority derived or pretended to be derived from the See of Rome, shall, before the 10th December next, depart out of the Kingdom of Ireland. . . . He expressly forbids all his subjects within that Kingdom to receive or relieve any Jesuit, seminary priest or other priest who, after the said 10th day of December shall remain in that Realm or return to the same. . . . If, however, any Jesuit or other priest shall present himself before the Lord Lieutenant, or before a member of the Privy Council, and shall conform and repair to the Church duly and orderly, according to the intent of our said laws, it shall be lawful for all and every such Jesuit or other priest, to continue to abide in the Kingdom, and to enjoy the benefit of the laws and royal protection in as free and ample manner as any other good and loyal subject, so long as they shall continue in their said conformity.

XXIV. THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

(1) Paul III to Con O'Neill, Prince of Ulster. [*Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII,* XVI. No. 755.]

Has received his letters dated the eve of All Saints by his servant Raymund, and heard with grief how that Island is by the present King reduced to such impiety and devastated with such cruelty, and how the honour of God is trodden under foot by the ferocity of that man. Rejoices, however, to learn that [O'Neill] is the defender of the Roman Church and Catholic religion, and commends and thanks him. Exhorts the whole Irish people to persevere in the faith they received from their fathers. Holds that Island specially dear, as these nuncios,[1] John [Codurius] and Alphonsus [Salmeron] and Raymund will report.—Rome, 24th April, 1541.

[Original in *Latin.*]

(2) Bull of Indulgence by Pope Clement VIII (18 April, 1600). [*Cal. Carew MSS.*, III. 523.]

To the archbishops, bishops, prelates, chiefs, earls, barons, and people of Ireland :—Whereas, encouraged by the exhortations of our predecessors and ourself, you have long struggled to recover and preserve your liberty, first under James Geraldine, of good memory, who endeavoured to throw off the yoke of slavery imposed on you by the English, deserters from the Holy Roman Church, then under John Geraldine, cousin of the said James, and lastly under our beloved son, Hugh O'Neill, styled Earl of Tyrone, Baron Dungannon, and captain-general of the Catholic army in Ireland : we grant to all of you who follow and assist the said Hugh and the Catholic army, if you truly repent and confess, and if possible receive the holy communion, plenary pardon, and remission of all sins, as usually granted to those setting out to the war against the Turks for the recovery of the Holy Land.

Rome, 18th April, 1600, ninth year of our pontificate.

Signed : M. Vestrius Barbianus.

[Original in *Latin.*]

(3) Instructions to the Agents of the Holy See in Ireland (1560). [Vatican Archives. Pr. in Cardinal Moran's *History of the Catholic Archbishops of Dublin,* pp. 415–17.]

They are to visit the Catholic leaders and especially the four secular princes who are the chiefs of the Realm, praising in the Holy

[1] For the first Jesuit mission to Ireland, see Bagwell, *Irel. under the Tudors,* I. 308–9.

Father's name their constancy and zeal in the interests of the Catholic religion and exhorting them to continue their efforts.

They must also visit the Catholic bishops, doing likewise with them, admonishing them should any of them fail in their duty, by giving a bad example in their way of living, or by not residing in their dioceses, not visiting their flocks or seeing that divine services are celebrated. . . . As to the clergy generally, they are to enquire into their manner of administering the sacraments . . . and to see that the Word of God is worthily preached. . . . Should they come across any heretical priests they are to try to prevent them from harming others and to bring them into the paths of truth. . . . Wherever they meet good teachers they are to place their names before the bishops in order that their services may be made use of. If possible they are to introduce grammar schools, supplying them with Catholic masters as a remedy against the profound ignorance of the people; parents should be urged to send their children to these schools to be instructed in literature and morals and to learn the Catholic doctrines. They are also to see that monasteries for men and women are established and strict discipline maintained in those already in existence. Hospitals are to be founded and other places of refuge and succour for the poor. For all these things, which are to be undertaken for the salvation of souls . . . no rewards are to be taken. Should the glory of God and the interests of religion require it, they must risk their lives, but generally speaking they must act with prudence and not allow themselves to be taken prisoner. . . .

[Original in *Italian*.]

(4) Activities of the Jesuits. [Sir John Dowdall to Lord Burghley (9 March, 1595). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, pp. 487–8.]

Every port town and upland town, and also gentlemen's houses for the most part are furnished with superstitious seducing priests. The townsmen and merchants do transport them from Spain to Ireland, and so from Ireland to Spain again, and likewise to France, which swarm up and down the whole country, seducing the people and the best sorts, to draw them from God and their allegiance to the Prince.

Every town is established with sundry schools where the noblemen and gentlemen's sons of the country do repair; these schools have a superstitious or an idolatrous schoolmaster, and each school overseen by a Jesuit,[1] whereby the youth of the whole Kingdom are corrupted and poisoned with more gross superstition and disobedience

[1] The numbers of Jesuits in Ireland at this time are probably exaggerated. The term "Jesuit" seems to have been used officially for all kinds of ecclesiastics.

than all the rest of the Popish crew in all Europe. The townsmen do transport into Spain, Italy, Rheims, and other places, young men both of the Irish and English nation, in the company of Jesuits, to be brought up in their colleges; and so when they have been thoroughly corrupted they return them again with letters of commendation, with instructions to seduce the people to disobedience and rebellion; what town did first refuse to come to the church and to be partakers of the rites thereof as God's Word doth allow, even the good town of Waterford, her Majesty's chamber (as they term it themselves) which were never but loyal as they likewise say, but it is well known they have in their town seminaries, Jesuits, Popish priests and friars, and they were the first that refused the Church as aforesaid, they being not punished another followed their example, and another and another, and now all the townsmen of the Kingdom are become apostates and do oppose themselves against God and her Majesty's laws; it is said that Waterford is not clear of a Legate from the Pope, it is hard to have Irishmen accuse one the other, or to give evidence in matters of felony or treason, one against the other, except there be such hold taken of them that they may not deny it, and this Satan hath wrought in their hearts by the mouth of Jesuits.[1]

[Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council (27 Oct., 1607). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, pp. 309–10.]

The principal cause [of the public disaffection] is no other than the subtle and wicked ministry of the priests and Jesuits, that now of late . . . have daily flocked into this Realm. . . . They land here secretly in every port and creek of the Realm (a dozen of them together sometimes, as they are credibly informed), and afterwards disperse themselves into several quarters, in such sort that every town and country is full of them, and men's minds are infected with their doctrine and seditious persuasions. They have so gained the women that they are in a manner all of them absolute recusants. Children and servants are wholly taught and catechised by them . . . they withdraw many from the Church that formerly had conformed themselves; and others, of whom good hope had been conceived, they have made altogether obstinate, disobedient and contemptuous. Most of the mayors and principal officers of cities and corporate towns and justices of peace of this country's birth refuse to take the Oath of Supremacy, as is requisite by the statute. . . . The people in many places resort to Mass now in greater multitudes, both in town and country, than for many years past, and if it chance that any priest known to be

[1] For two general accounts of the activities of the Jesuits from different points of view, see Sir J. P. Mahaffy, *An Epoch in Irish History*, and Cardinal Moran, *History of the Catholic Archbishops of Dublin*.

factious and working be apprehended, both men and women will not stick to rescue the party. In no less multitudes do these priests hold general councils and conventicles together many times about their affairs . . . and they have combined the chief persons in sundry parts of the Kingdom in an engagement to declare themselves for their cause, immediately upon the arrival of any foreign succours in their behalf. Many have sworn to it,[1] and many more have signed it in writing under their hands, and sent the same into Spain, as is affirmed. . . .

[The Lord Chancellor Loftus and Thomas Jones, Bishop of Meath, to John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury (7 April, 1600). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, pp. 76–7.]

About a year since, there arrived here from foreign parts one Henry Fitzsimon, born in this city of Dublin, the son of an alderman of good account, and by his profession a priest and a Jesuit. He came through England without let or stay, and by changing of his name, did come over as an ordinary passenger. But ever since his arrival he hath gathered together great multitudes of her Majesty's subjects, perverted them in religion, and drawn them from the Church. In Dublin, commonly every Sunday, he used to say Mass and to preach. His Mass was sung by note, "in pryckesonge"[2] (a number of priests attending upon him with torches, arrayed in Popish vestments); to the which there was an ordinary resort, both of the best sort of citizens, and out of the country, of four or five hundred persons at every assembly. In the week days, he used to travel into the country, to the houses of gentlemen of the English Pale, where he reconciled many to the Church of Rome, procured them to abjure our service, and by means of his alliance to many, both in city and country, and of this course of his proceeding in the erection of Popery, he was generally received as an angel amongst this ignorant and idolatrous people. The fame of whose carriage and behaviour coming to the ears of me, the Archbishop, I thought it agreeable, both with my duty to God, and to her most excellent Majesty, to use my best endeavours for his apprehension, and in November last, by promise of a reward of £20 to her Majesty's Sergeant-at-Arms in this Kingdom, I procured to attack him, and so committed his body to her Majesty's Castle of Dublin, where as yet he doth remain. Soon after his apprehension, he was brought before me, the Archbishop, and my companions, the Lord Justices, and this Council; and first was charged with the breach and violation of her Majesty's laws, by his open saying of Mass and preaching

[1] See p. 135.

[2] Music sung by notes written or pricked, as distinguished from that sung from memory or by ear.

(which he could not deny). And secondly, being charged that by his profession and taking upon him the name of a Jesuit, he was a person justly to be suspected by the State (both in regard he was sent from the Pope, her Majesty's mortal enemy, into her Highness's dominions, and in regard the practices of the Jesuits in these perilous times did sufficiently discover their seditious dispositions to work bad offices between our Prince and her subjects), he began before us to make a kind of protestation of his loyalty to her Majesty. But being presently demanded to declare his opinion of the bull of Pius V, published against her Majesty, and whether in his conscience he thought the act of that bishop against her Highness to be lawful, in deposing her from her Kingdom, in absolving of her subjects from her obedience, and in denouncing her excommunicate, he answered, before us and the Council, that he thought the said act lawful, and before the table maintained his said answer, against me the Bishop of Meath arguing against him. . . .

[Letters of Father Fitzsimon to the Very Rev. Father Claudio Aquaviva, General of the Society of Jesus. Pr. in E. Hogan's *Life of Fitzsimon*, pp. 46–60.]

[25 Nov., 1598.] I have nothing more at heart than that you should understand what is going on around us; but it is hard to find a way of sending a letter. All commerce has nearly ceased on account of the troubles, and consequently correspondence is almost impossible. . . . Snares and traps have been laid for me, in which others were caught, though I have escaped. . . . I myself got notice from those whose business it was to search the houses for clergymen, and I had barely time to escape, when the soldiers entered the place where I lived. During the whole summer I went through various parts of the Kingdom, not without very good results. I converted 6 heretics and very many schismatics, and heard an immense number of confessions. I preached every Sunday and holiday, and not a few came even 20 miles to hear me. Now, however, I cannot go out without manifest danger of my life, as the enemies prowl about in all directions. . . .

[5 April, 1604.] I have been 5 years in prison, and I have been brought 8 times before the Supreme Court, and I have always been, through God's goodness, superior to all circumstances and proof against all attacks. The governor of the prison has been my deadly enemy, and has often plotted against my life. . . . For 3 years he watched most intently to catch me celebrating Mass. At last, on the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul, he rushed in on me just as I was ending the *Pater Noster* of the Mass. I saved the Sacred Host from the sacrilegious wretch, but he wrested the chalice from me, and the Divine Blood was sprinkled all about

the cell. He also took the vestments. . . . Through the malignity of this man, it is very difficult for anyone to speak with me. He has surrounded me with the most cruel guards and spies that his malice could find out: nevertheless by the Divine help, I have, in the space of one month, brought back to the bosom of the Church 7 Protestants, one of whom is my head warder. . . .

Since the Queen's demise all things are uncertain—and people are now full of hopes and again full of fears. . . . Religion does not strike deep and firm roots here; people, by a kind of general propensity, follow more the name than the reality of the Catholic Faith, and thus are borne to and fro by the winds of edicts and threats. However the work of our Fathers, ever since their arrival, has been solid and brilliant. Those, who before were mere *tabulæ rasæ*, know the teaching of the faith, and piety flourishes where all had once been a waste, and where even the name of piety was not known. Others, who are in the midst of the work, can tell you more and better than this. . . .

[The examination of Shane McPhelimy O'Donnelly, taken before me Sir Toby Caulfield, Knight (22 Oct., 1613). J. Lodge, *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica* (1772), I. 394–6.]

Shane McPhelimy O'Donnelly saith, that about the end of May last, upon the Sunday, he was at Mass at the glen in Brian Maguire's country, between the county of Fermanagh and Tyrone, where Tirlough MacCrudden, a friar there, lately come from beyond seas, said the Mass, and was preaching most part of the same day: and in his sermon he declared, that he was sent from the Pope, to persuade them that they should never alter their religion, but take the Pope to be their true head, and rather to go into rebellion than to change their religion; and that the English service proceeded from the seducement of the devil, and did earnestly exhort them, upon pain of damnation, to stand on their keeping, rather than alter their religion. At which Mass there were assembled (as he thinketh) 1,000 people all of Fermanagh except himself and one Shane Roe O'Quin . . . who accompanied Neale MacTirlough . . . which Neale . . . upon these speeches uttered by the friar spake aloud, saying, "God be thanked, we heard this Mass, and God be blessed, such a one as you came amongst us, to give us this counsel; for our parts, we will rather go into rebellion, and be eaten with dogs and cats, rather than go to the English service, to hear the devil's words." And the said Shane Roe O'Quin said the very same words after him. And the friar had at that day given him at the least 200 cows and garrons.[1] . . . .

He further saith, that the friar told them, that the Parliament

[1] Ir., *gearrán*, a small species of horse.

was coming, and that it was a thing invented on purpose to cozen them, and bring them from their religion, and earnestly exhorted them not to be led thereby, but stand fast and join together, and that God was on their side. . . . He told them that the cattle which they had given him, was for the maintenance of friars beyond seas, and that the Pope would be highly pleased with the gifts they bestowed to so godly purposes. And further saith, that he vehemently exhorted them not to be afraid of anything, for Tyrone was coming,[1] therefore willed them to be merry and of good courage: and for the English, they were to have no rule of power over them, but for two years . . . and that the King of Spain had 18,000 men in arms ready to come over, whereof Tyrone should be the chief; and that they should come within a year and a quarter, and land at 4 ports in Ireland . . . and would overthrow the English, and have Ireland to himself (*sic*). . . . All these speeches were uttered by the said friar . . . openly in his sermon, and that Connor Roe Maguire and Brian Cú Chonnacht Maguire were present from first to last.

TOBY CAULFIELD.

[*A View of the Present State of Ireland*, by Edmund Spenser.[2] Spenser's *Works* (Globe ed.), pp. 679–80.]

In planting of religion thus much is needful to be observed, that it be not sought forcibly to be impressed into them with terror and sharp penalties, as now is the manner, but rather delivered and intimated with mildness and gentleness, so as it may not be hated afore it be understood, and their professors despised and rejected. For this I know that the most of the Irish are so far from understanding of the Popish religion as they are of the Protestants' profession, and yet do they hate it though unknown, even for the very hatred which they have of the English and their government. Therefore it is expedient that some discreet ministers of their own countrymen be first sent amongst them, which by their mild persuasions and instructions, as also by their sober life and conversation, may draw them first to understand, and afterwards to embrace, the doctrine of their salvation; for if that the ancient godly Fathers, which first converted them, being infidels, to the faith, were able to draw them from infidelity and paganism to the true belief in Christ, as St. Patrick and St. Columba, how much more easily shall the godly teachers bring them to the true understanding of that which they already profess? Wherein it is great wonder to see the odds which is between the zeal of Popish priests,

[1] The flight of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel from Ireland took place in 1607. The Irish believed that Tyrone would return at the head of a foreign expedition to lead them again. He died at Rome in 1616.

[2] See note on Spenser in Ireland, p. 171.

and the ministers of the Gospel ; for they spare not to come out of Spain, from Rome, and from Rheims, by long toil and dangerous travel hither, where they know peril of death awaiteth them, and no reward nor riches is to be found, only to draw the people to the Church of Rome : whereas some of our idle ministers, having a way for credit and estimation thereby opened unto them, and having the livings of the country offered them, without pains, and without peril, will neither for the same, nor for any love of God . . . be drawn forth from their warm nests and their sweet love's side to look out into God's harvest, which is even ready for the sickle, and all the fields yellow long ago. Doubtless those good old godly Fathers will (I fear me) rise up in the Day of Judgment to condemn them.

XXV. ANTI-PROTESTANT SENTIMENT

(1) Letter of Edward Staples,[1] the Bishop of Meath. [To the Secretary of Sir Edward Bellingham, Lord Deputy (Dec. 1548). State Papers Ireland, Edward VI, Vol. I, No. 156.]

After most hearty commendations, in like manner I thank you for your letter, and when by the same ye wished me to be defended from ill tongues—*res est potius optabilis quam speranda.* Ye have not heard such rumour as is here all the country over against me, as my friends doth show me. One gentlewoman to whom I did christen a man-child which beareth my name, came in great counsel to a friend of mine desiring how she might find means to change her child's name. And he asked her why ? And she said, because I would not have him bear the name of an heretic. A gentleman dwelling nigh unto me forbade his wife, which would have sent her child to be confirmed by me, so to do, saying, his child should not be confirmed by him that denied the Sacrament of the Altar. A friend of mine rehearsing at the market that I would preach this next Sunday at the Navan, divers answered they would not come thereat, lest they should learn to be heretics. One of our lawyers declared to a multitude that it was great pity that I was not burned, for I preached heresy so was I worthy therefore ; and if I preached right yet was I worthy to be burned that kept the truth from knowledge. . . . One of our judges said to myself that it should be proved in my face that I preached against learning. A beneficed man of mine own promotion came unto me weeping, and desired me that he might declare his mind unto me without my displeasure. I said, I was well content. My Lord, said he, before ye went last to Dublin ye were the best beloved man in your diocese that ever came in it, and now ye are the worst beloved

[1] Staples was consecrated Bishop of Meath in 1530. He was one of Henry VIII's principal instruments in introducing the Reformation into Ireland.

that ever came here. I asked why? Why, saith he, for ye have taken open part with the State that false heretic, and preached against the Sacrament of the Altar, and deny saints, and will make us worse than Jews. Where if the country wist how, they would eat you, and besought me to take heed of myself for he feared more than he durst tell me. He said, ye have more curses than ye have hairs of your head; and I advise you for Christ's sake not to preach at the Navan as I hear ye will do. I said it was my charge to preach, and because there was most resort, God willing, I would not fail, but preach there. Hereby ye may perceive what case I am in, but put all to God.

(2) Thanksgiving Services for the Defeat of the Spanish Armada. [Archbishop Loftus to Burghley (22 Sept., 1590). State Papers Ireland, Elizabeth, Vol. CLIV, No. 37.]

By the bad example of some great personages of credit in this State, this people hath . . . grown to wonderful obstinacy and herein do persist unto this day—increasing in malice beyond all measure and utter detestation of religion. . . . I assure your Lordship their obstinacy now is such that unless they be enforced, they will not ever come to hear the Word preached, as by experience we observed at the time appointed by the Lord Deputy and Council for a general assembly of all the noblemen and gentlemen of every county, after her Majesty's good success against the Spaniard, to give God thanks for the same. At which time, notwithstanding the Sheriff of every county did their duties with all diligence, and warned all men to repair to the principal church in every county, wherein order was taken for public prayers and thanksgivings unto God, together with a sermon to be preached by choice men in every diocese, yet very few or none almost resorted thereunto, but even in Dublin itself the lawyers, in term time, took occasion to leave the town of purpose to absent themselves from that godly exercise—so bewraying in themselves, besides their corruption in religion, great want of duty and loyalty unto her Majesty, and giving just occasion unto us to conceive a doubtful opinion of them. . . .

(3) Catholic Officers in Dublin. ["Remembrances by Captain Barnaby Rich[1] concerning the state of Ireland" (14 August, 1612). Lansdowne MSS., 156, Fol. 10.]

There is not a city in Ireland (no not Dublin itself) that is able year after year, for two years together to make choice of a

[1] Rich was an Essex gentleman, the author of many popular tracts, who had lived in Ireland for many years. His ardent Protestantism, according to his own confession, made him exceedingly unpopular in Dublin. This is one of a series of confidential papers addressed by him to Sir Julius Cæsar, Chancellor of the Exchequer in England.

mayor and two sheriffs that will take the oath of obedience to his Majesty; but to speak of inferior officers, as notaries, sergeants, constables, jailors and such other like in Dublin where they are most conformed, I know not any of these but is a Papist that on Sunday mornings will first hear a Mass, then after that, they will bring the Mayor to Christ Church, and having put him into his pew they convey themselves to a tavern till the sermon be done, then they bring the Mayor back again to his house. . . It is strange that in Dublin where the Word of God hath been so plentifully preached,[1] that they should make no better choice but of such officers for the service of his Majesty, but such as will impugn his Majesty's laws.

XXVI. CATHOLIC IRELAND IN THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

(1) Italian Report, 1613.[2] ["Miscellanea Vaticano-Hibernica" (1580–1631), *Archivium Hibernicum* (Cath. Record Soc. of Ireland) (1914), III. 300.]

Sufficiency of priests in Ireland.—The population Catholic, nearly all openly professing their religion.—The English penal laws not enforced.—A comparatively small number infected with heresy in the cities.—The rural population ignorant to a large extent in matters of faith.—The nobility and gentry nearly all Catholic; hence the possibility of a large number of priests.—Estimated number of the clergy in Ireland: 800 seculars, 130 Franciscans, 20 Jesuits, a few Benedictines and Dominicans. The Franciscans always held in great esteem.—Greater learning and acquirements desirable in many of the secular clergy, the best being those educated in the Continental seminaries: at Douai, Bordeaux, Lisbon, and Salamanca.—The people have preserved the faith because naturally inclined to it; always attached to the Holy See; always hating the English; always opposed to novelty and tenacious of old customs.—Heresy introduced by violence and against their wish; externally Protestantism is in the ascendancy, all the archbishoprics and bishoprics being in the hands of the heretics.—Ireland counted 4 archbishops and 37 bishops; 9 under Armagh, 5 under Dublin, 12 under Cashel, 11 under Tuam.—No factions among the clergy.

[Original in *Italian.*]

[1] "We do humbly assure your Lordships that in this city of Dublin there is as great plenty of preaching the Word in the several parishes of the city on the Sabbath days (besides a public lecture once every week in each of the two cathedral churches) as in any city in England of like quality."—The Lord Deputy and Council in Dublin to the Privy Council (Feb. 1602). *Cal. Car. MSS.*, IV. 432.

[2] The document of which a brief summary is quoted here forms part of a report, which was sent to the Holy See, 6th April, 1613, by the Brussels Internuncio, Mgr. Bentivoglio, on the state of Catholicity in the countries subject to his supervision.

(2) Memorial presented to the King of Spain on behalf of the Irish Catholics (1619).[1] [*Archivium Hibernicum* (1917), VI. 48–54.]

Condition of the Catholics in Things Spiritual

Every Catholic is condemned to pay 12*d.* Irish if he does not attend the Protestant service—which is held in one of his own violated churches. Four times a year the judges going on circuit enquire from the parson the names of all such Catholics as do not obey this law, in order to punish them severely. . . .

No Catholic is permitted to teach anything, even grammar. The schoolmaster must be a Protestant, in order to bring the children up in heresy. If, contrary to the command of the Viceroy and Privy Council, a Catholic dare to teach Catholic children, he is fined heavily and kept in prison during the pleasure of the Viceroy; then on pretence of restoring him to liberty they banish him out of the Kingdom. Thus they force Catholics either not to teach or else to quit the country.

They forbid a Catholic, unless he has leave from the Viceroy and the Privy Council, under penalty of imprisonment for life, to go to Spain for the purpose of education; and in case anyone does go, even without the leave of his parents, they confiscate their property and imprison them until they give bail that they will bring him back and not let him go again. . . . Besides fining Catholics for not going to church, the pseudo-archbishops and bishops of Ireland excommunicate them If after the third warning they do not conform, they are imprisoned and cruelly treated. They get no food, and if they are not to die of hunger must incur great expenses. At the present day there are many of them in prison throughout Ireland, and especially in Dublin Castle there are many gentlemen and respectable merchants who have been confined for years. . . .

When the Lord Deputy and Council have arrested a Catholic, either a layman or an ecclesiastic, they ask him whether the Pope can depose the King for his disobedience, deprive heretics of their possessions, etc., and they suggest an affirmative answer, in order to condemn him to death and to confiscate his property. . . .

Every Protestant justice of the peace has authority to arrest priests and to search for them in any house, and the fact of having such authority is publicly announced over and over again: last year (1617), a Proclamation to this effect was posted up everywhere. . . .

If a Catholic is convicted of having heard Mass; for the first offence he is fined 200 crowns and imprisoned for 6 months, for the second he is fined 400 crowns and imprisoned for a year, for the third he is fined 800 and imprisoned for life. The imprison-

[1] This memorial was presented to Philip III by an Irish priest who had been educated in Spain and had returned to Ireland as a missionary.

ment may be escaped by bribery, but there is no chance of escaping the fines. . . .

No Irish Catholic can get any title or honourable employment, unless he takes the Oath of Supremacy, goes to church, and swears to bring up his children Protestants: if he fails to do so, he loses his title or office and his property is confiscated.

Some cities and towns in Ireland have lost their ancient privileges because they would not elect a Protestant to be mayor and because the Catholic whom they elected would not take the Oath of Supremacy and go to church. This is the case at the present day in Waterford, where though all the Irish are Catholics, the civic offices are conferred on Protestants by the Government. . . .

The Protestants have broken up all the stone altars that were in our churches and have altered the arrangement of the churches, in order that the marks of their original destination should disappear. And they compel the unfortunate Catholic inhabitants of the parish to contribute towards defraying the cost of altering the churches and of providing a wooden table and 2 silver cups for what they call Communion. . . .

No Catholic merchant, etc., can share in the rights or privileges of his town, unless he takes the Oath of Supremacy. . . .

The Protestants have taken possession of all the religious houses and of the property belonging to them; some monasteries have been thrown down in order to furnish materials for building palaces and houses; other monasteries are occupied by families; other monasteries are used as law courts where ecclesiastics are condemned to death. And the churches of the monasteries are turned into stables. . . .

Conditions of the Catholics in Things Temporal

All the Government officials are English or Scotch heretics.

No Irish Catholic, however learned he may be, is permitted to plead as advocate in court, unless he first takes the Oath of Supremacy. . . . In the civil and criminal cases where Catholics are in question, some of those appointed to serve on the juries are Catholics, and if they do not act against their consciences and join the Protestant jurymen in injuring the Catholics, they are fined and imprisoned. . . .

When the officials are going on the King's business, they live luxuriously at the expense of the poor Catholics. If a Catholic refuses to admit them into his house and to supply them with food and money, they take it by force and then fine and imprison him. For these wrongs there is no hope of redress. The plantation of Ireland with English and Scottish heretics which is going on at present is effected in this way. The King commands the Catholics

because they are Irish to quit their lands, and if he does give them a little land elsewhere, it is at a great distance from their old homes, in order that their very names may be forgotten there.

The Catholics whom the King dispossesses in this way are confined in prison until they give large sums of money as security that they will not sue or otherwise molest the heretics to whom their lands have been granted. . . . The above mentioned plantation of Ireland with Scotch heretics has for its object to create discord between the Irish and Scotch who from ancient times were on most friendly terms, and to prevent the Scotch from joining the Irish against the King, and to unite the Scotch and English against the Irish. . . .

Any Government official may with impunity extort money from the Catholics or inflict suffering on them. If a Catholic complains to the Lord Deputy of these extortioners and persecutors, they accuse him of some crime, and the consequence is that he loses everything he possessed. . . .

If through inadvertence a Catholic say the least thing against an act of the King, either in spirituals or in temporals, it is high treason punished by death and confiscation.

It is forbidden to sell Catholic books, under pain of imprisonment.[1]

[Original in *Spanish*.]

(3) Fidelity of Ireland to the Catholic Faith. [John Lynch, *Cambrensis Eversus*,[2] (1662), ed. and tr. M. Kelly, II. 613–15.]

Of all the countries of Europe subject to heretical kings, there is not one in which a greater number of subjects have persevered in the old faith, and in obedience to the sovereign pontiff, than in Ireland. Cardinal Bentivoglio has truly observed, that the Irish would seem to have sucked in the Catholic faith with their mother's milk. In other countries smitten with heresy, the majority followed the example of the king or other governing power of the State, and renounced the old faith and supremacy of the Pope; but in Ireland, I do not hesitate to assert, that not the tenth, nor the hundredth, no nor the thousandth part, revolted from the faith of their fathers to the camp of the heretics. Orlandinus might say with perfect truth "that the Irish had preserved in heart and soul

[1] The penal laws against the Irish Catholics at this time were severe, but it must often have been difficult to put them into practice. Many interesting extracts from contemporary letters, throwing light on the persecution, are given in Hogan's *Life of Fitzsimon*.

[2] John Lynch was born in Galway about 1600, and was ordained priest in France in 1622. His *Cambrensis Eversus*, published in 1662, was an eloquent defence of Ireland from the strictures of Giraldus Cambrensis, the chief authority for the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland in the twelfth century.

the Catholic faith in all its integrity and the most devoted obedience to the Roman pontiff." [1] And Bozius [2] also: "as far as we can judge from history, not one of all the northern nations has been more constant in the profession of the one faith."

[1] Niccolo Orlandini (1554–1606) was an Italian Jesuit who published a history of his order in 1615. The quotation given by Lynch is taken from this work.

[2] Thomas Bozius, author of the work *De signis ecclesiæ Dei* (1591), in which this reference to Ireland occurs, was an Italian theologian. He died at Rome in 1610.

PART III

THE ELIZABETHAN CONQUEST

XXVII. THE POLICY OF SURRENDER AND REGRANT

[Agreement with the O'Farrells. Indenture between Sir Henry Sydney, Lord Deputy, and Faghne O'Farrell, and other members of his clan (11 Feb., 1570). *Cal. Carew MSS.*, I, 406–8.]

[They] promise and bargain to surrender in the Court of Chancery in Ireland, to the use of the Queen . . . all their possessions in the said country, sometime called the Annaly and now the County of Longford. And the Lord Deputy promises that they shall receive the same by letters patent from the Queen to hold to them and their heirs for ever by knight's service, and that they shall be exonerated from the "bonaght"[1] accustomed to be paid out of the said country to the Queen's gallowglass, and from all other cesses and impositions. In consideration thereof they grant to the Lord Deputy . . . to the use of the Queen and her successors a yearly rent charge of 200 marks Irish, payable at the feasts of Michaelmas and Easter, from Michaelmas next. For lack of money to be paid in the Exchequer, the Treasurer or Receiver-General is to receive kine to the value of the rent unpaid. . . . They promise to answer to all general hostings, "rodes," journeys, and risings out,[2] as they have been accustomed. . . .

That the captainship of that portion of the said county . . . shall from henceforth be utterly abolished . . . and that the said Faghne O'Farrell shall receive and take, by letters patent from the Queen's Majesty, for term of his life, an authority in the said county called Clentane[3] in the said county of Longford, by the names and styles of Seneschal . . . together with all such customs, duties and charges, as [has] been accustomed to be yearly yielded and paid unto the said Faghne O'Farrell as captain of the said country. . . .

The said Seneschal shall apprehend all traitors, felons and other malefactors, and commit them to the common shire gaol of the said county, and prosecute them according to the laws. For this his travail he shall have the moiety or "halfendell"[4] of the lands

[1] See p. 326 *n.* 1. [2] See p. 328.

[3] Clentane apparently stands for one of the two branches of the Clan O'Farrell, the *Clann tSedin*, i.e. the Clan Shane O'Farrell. [4] Half-part.

of persons attainted and of the goods and chattels of such felons as shall be executed within his rule; the other moiety to remain to the Queen. . . .

The county of Longford shall from henceforth pay yearly the subsidy of 13*s.* 4*d.* sterling upon a ploughland, granted of late by Parliament to the Queen, when it shall be divided into ploughlands. . . .

None of the gentlemen, freeholders, or others of the said county shall take any goods or chattels one from another on any account but only for rent service . . . and none of them to seek to revenge their private quarrels one upon another for anything but by order of the Queen's laws or arbitrament with consent of the parties.

XXVIII. THE COMPOSITION OF CONNACHT

(1) Royal Commission. [Commission from the Queen to Sir Richard Bingham, Chief Commissioner in Connacht and Thomond; the Archbishop of Tuam; the Earls of Ormonde and Clanrickarde, etc. (15 July, 1585). *Cal. Carew MSS.*, II. 405.]

Whereas the said province is torn by the dissensions of the lords and chieftains, who challenge authorities, cuttings and cessings, under pretext of defending the people under their rules; and we understand that these our subjects are inclined, through the ministry of Sir John Perrot, our Deputy General, to embrace all good ways and means to conserve them in obedience, whereby our prerogative may be known, and their rights and titles made certain. We authorise you to call before you all the nobility, spiritual and temporal, and all the chieftains and lords of the countries, and thereupon, in lieu of the uncertain cess borne to us, and of the cuttings and spendings of the lords, to compound for a rent certain to us, upon every quarter or quantity of land within that province.

(2) Sir John Perrot's[1] Account. [Letter to Sir Francis Walsingham (10 July, 1587). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, pp. 381–2.]

Understanding at my first coming hither that Sir Nicholas Malby[2] (in his time) had made an uncertain composition in the province of Connacht and Thomond, in lieu of all cess and gallowglass pay, amounting to about £1,700 sterling, yearly, not passing the same by indenture, or other authentic writing, how or in what due order the same might be levied; whereof there could not be collected at any time above £1,200 by the year, or thereabouts, as by the said Sir Nicholas's reckonings, delivered to the auditor, appeareth; the rest being left as supers, and no part thereof to be

[1] Sir John Perrot was appointed Lord Deputy, 1584.
[2] President of Connacht, 1579.

obtained. The people of that province, at my first coming thither to settle Sir Richard Bingham [1] there, making great rumour and exclamation against the manner of that charge, and collecting thereof; some of them affirming they never consented thereunto, and others that agreed to the same alleging that they granted it but for a time during the troubles, showing therewithal the great inconvenience that did ensue thereof, as well by the unequal levying of the same, as by the abuse of those horsemen and footmen that collected it, who took up the cattle of whole parishes and townreeds, as they came next unto their hands, leaving the countries without all order to plot it amongst themselves, as well as they could, by reason whereof the poorer sort bore the whole charge, and the greater men went free; I entered into consideration how this confusion and great enormity amongst them might be reformed, as well there in that province as throughout the whole Realm; where there was no certainty in cessing, cutting, or over-charging the people, and thought it good first to begin with Connacht as a precedent for the whole.

And thereupon calling to mind the small pamphlet of my opinion delivered to her Majesty and you, touching the state of this Realm, after I had first persuaded and won all the noblemen and chief gentlemen of the country to agree thereunto, I did (according my conceit expressed in my said book) make choice of Sir Richard Bingham, Sir Nicholas White, and other commissioners to proceed in the same, according a commission and certain instructions set down by me in that behalf; by virtue whereof they travelled through the whole province, and extended the same by offices and presentments, setting it down into quarters of land, each quarter containing six score acres, or thereabout, and passed indentures, according the copy herewith sent unto you between her Majesty and the lords, as also between the lords and their tenants, for a certain rent to be had out of every quarter of land there, reserving to her Majesty the rising-out [2] of certain horsemen and footmen, as well to repress rebellions within that province, as also to be ready at all general hostings otherwise; besides the banishing of the "Macs" and "O's"; [3] the said province also being thereby divided into nine seigniories or honours, for her Majesty; whereby in short time her Highness (besides her ancient revenue and impost there) will reap yearly by this composition £4,000 sterling, with sundry escheats and other royalties, as by a breviate of a book which I send you herewith may appear.

All which was granted with great contentment, as by the copy

[1] President of Connacht, 1584. [2] See p. 328.

[3] The members of an Irish family often took as a common surname the name of their father with *Mac* (son) attached, or of their grandfather or some more remote ancestor with *Ua* or *O* (grandson or descendant) prefixed.

of the lords' and captains' letters contained in the said book is manifest, which they paid with very good will, because they are come to a certainty. And for due proof that this service hath had good success, the composition this year will amount to £2,800 sterling or thereabout. And the same by continuance of this peace will daily increase, so that within a year or two it will accomplish the sum aforesaid. There is besides that such a general knot of obedience tied to her Majesty and the State thereby, as her Highness shall stand assured of a round revenue; the lords have thereby agreed with their tenants for a certain rent; the tenants understand what they are to perform to her Majesty and their lords, every man knowing what is his, and depending now upon the law, and not upon one another.[1]

XXIX. INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE LORD PRESIDENT OF MUNSTER (1570)

[A. Collins, *Letters and Memorials of State* (1746), I. 48–59.]

The Lord Deputy and Council of the Realm, having such care as becometh them, for the universal good government of this her Majesty's Realm, and finding that the remote parts thereof have of long time, by lack of justice, and administration of laws, continued in great disorders; and that, upon good consultation herein of long time had, no means can be found more meet, to reduce the same to order, for the honour and service of Almighty God, for obedience to the Queen's Majesty, for the recovery and conservation of common peace and tranquillity, and finally, for to breed and establish all good civility, than to have justice indifferently applied and administered to all states and sorts of people, have for that purpose certified the same to the Queen's most excellent Majesty; who having no less princely and natural regard to her said universal Realm, and to the people thereof, than even to her Realm of England; and being desirous that the knowledge of Almighty God, and the good fruits of justice, should be equally distributed through all parts of her said Realm, hath . . . given commandment . . . to erect and establish by her commission, special councils in sundry remote parts of her said Realm, with honourable stipends and entertainments . . . (and) her Majesty hath, by advice of her said Deputy and Council, determined to have one special person, being known meet, not only for wisdom and love of justice, but also by birth indifferent, and free from all partiality towards the people of the same country, to be the chief and head of the same Council,

[1] For a full account of these proceedings, see Bonn, *op. cit.* I. 193–262.

and to be named the Lord President of her Majesty's Council established in Munster.[1]

(*Here follow the names of the members of the Council, and details as to the Lord President's household.*) . . .

And where the said Lord President and Council shall have, by their commission, sufficient authority to hear and determine, by their discretions, all manner of complaints within any part of the province of Munster . . . yet they shall have good regard, that except great necessity, or other matter of conscience, conceived upon the complaint shall move them, they shall not hinder nor impeach the good course and usage of the common laws of the Realm; but shall to their power further the execution thereof. . . .

Where also the said Lord President and Council . . . hath full power and authority by letters patent under the Great Seal of this Realm, to execute the martial law, when necessity shall require . . . [they] shall have good regard thereto, that no use be [made] of the martial law, but where mere necessity shall require; for the exercise thereof is only to be allowed where other ordinary administration of justice by law cannot assume place.

. . . It shall be lawful for the Lord President and Council, to prosecute and oppress any rebel or rebels with sword and with fire, and for the doing of the same, to levy in warlike manner and array, and with the same to march such and so many of the Queen's Highness's subjects, as to his discretion shall seem convenient. . . .

And the said Lord President and Council . . . shall have power and authority . . . diligently to hear, determine, and try all, and all manner of extortions, maintenance . . . oppressions, conspiracies (etc.) and misdemeanours of all sheriffs, justices of the peace, mayors, port reeves, bailiffs, stewards . . . coroners, gaolers, clerks, and other officers and ministers of justice . . . and punish the same according to the quality and quantity of their offence, by their discretions.

. . . And it shall be lawful for the said Lord President and Council . . . to conceive, make, and cause to be proclaimed in her Highness's name, and as they shall think good, any thing or matter tending to the better order of her Majesty's subjects, within the precinct of their commission. . . .

You shall swear, to the uttermost of your power, will and cunning, you shall be true and faithful to the Queen's Majesty, our Sovereign Lady, and to her heirs and successors. You shall not know nor hear anything, that may in any wise be prejudicial to her Highness, or the Commonwealth, peace and quiet of this her Highness's Realm; but you shall, with all diligence reveal and disclose the same to her Highness, or to such other person or persons

[1] Sir John Perrot was appointed Lord President of Munster in 1570.

of her Majesty's Privy Council in Ireland, as you shall think may, and will soonest convey and bring it to her Highness's knowledge. . . .

You shall faithfully and uprightly, to the best of your power, cause justice to be duly and indifferently ministered to the Queen's Majesty's subjects, that shall have cause to sue for the same, according to equity and order of laws.

XXX. PROHIBITION OF IRISH MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

[Ordinances proclaimed at Limerick by Sir John Perrot, Lord President of Munster (1571). *Cal. Carew MSS.*, I. 409–11.]

No earl, viscount, lord, gentleman, chieftain, or any other shall usurp or take upon him the title of captain of any country, circuit or rule, upon pain of £100.

The sons of all husbandmen and ploughmen shall follow the same occupation as their fathers. If the son of a husbandman or ploughman will become a kerne, gallowglass,[1] or horseboy,[2] or will take any other idle trade [3] of life, he shall be imprisoned for a twelve month and fined.

For avoiding of robberies and idleness, no lords or any others shall keep more horsemen or footmen than they are able to maintain upon their own costs. They shall present the names of such men as they keep in a book, to the Lord President, the sheriff, or the justices of the peace in the county where they dwell, within twenty days after this Proclamation ; or else they will be adjudged felons and suffer pains of death.

. . . All carrows,[4] bards, rhymers,[5] and common idle men and women within this province making rhymes, bringing of messages, and common players at cards, to be spoiled of all their goods and chattels, and to be put in the next stocks, there to remain till they shall find sufficient surety to leave that wicked trade of life and to fall to other occupation. . . All Irish laws called the Brehon Law to be of no force, and all persons taking upon them

[1] See p. 87 *n.* 3.

[2] "Out of the fry of these rake-hell horseboys, growing up in knavery and villainy, are their kerne continually supplied and maintained, for having been once brought up an idle horseboy, he will never after fall to labour, but is only made fit for the halter."—Spenser, *View*, pp. 641–2. See p. 222.

[3] Trade or tread, a course, way, path.

[4] Carrows (Ir., *cearrbhach*, a gamester), "a kind of people that wander up and down to gentleman's houses, living only upon cards and dice."—Spenser, *View*, p. 642. "There is a certain brotherhood called by the name of Carrows, and these be common gamesters that do only exercise playing at cards, and they will play away their mantles and their shirts from their backs, and when they have nothing left them, they will truss themselves in straw ; this is the life they lead, and from this they will not be reclaimed." —Barnaby Rich, *New Description of Ireland* (1610), ch. 10.

[5] See pp. 64, 341–2.

to adjudge causes according to the said law, to have a twelve months' imprisonment and to forfeit all their goods and chattels. . . .

The inhabitants of cities and corporate towns shall wear no mantles . . . Irish coats, or great shirts, nor suffer their hair to grow to glib,[1] but to wear clerk's gowns, jackets, jerkins, and some civil garments; and no maid or single woman shall wear or put on any great roll or kercher of linen cloth upon their heads,[2] neither any great smock with great sleeves, but to put on hats, caps, French hoods, tippets, or some other civil attire upon their heads; upon pain of £100 to the head officer of the city or corporate town that shall suffer any such Irish garments, and upon forfeiture of the said Irish garments so worn. . . .

Where it hath been heretofore used by divers of this Realm, for the death of any of their friends or kinsmen, to kill, murder, and rob so many as beareth the surname and nation of him that is so killed, and to pay an assault, otherwise called in Irish an "eric"[3] for the death of such so killed: from henceforth no person shall ask, levy, receive, or take up the said Irish duty called "eric" upon pain of death, but sue their appeal or other ordinary remedy by her Majesty's laws for the same murder or death.

XXXI. THE MUNSTER TOWNS AND THE DESMOND RISING (1569)

(1) Mayors of Cork and Youghal to the Lord Deputy. [Mayor and Corporation of Cork to the Lord Deputy (20 June, 1569). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, pp. 409–10.]

The rebels brag that they will take Kinsale and Cork, that help cometh from Spain, and that the Butlers are of the confederacy. All the country betwixt Cork and Kinsale is destroyed.

[Mayor and Corporation of Youghal to the Lord Deputy (20 June, 1569).]

Beg for 60 soldiers and a barrel of good powder for their protection. Unless his Lordship come with a main army, the whole country is like to be overthrown.

(2) Mayor and Corporation of Waterford to Sir William Cecil (8 July, 1569). [*Cal. S.P. Ireland*, p. 412.]

The good subjects in the country forced by the rebels to become partners of their confederacy, or else to end their wretched lives

[1] See p. 113 *n.* 1.

[2] "Their apparel is a mantle to sleep in, and that on the ground on some rushes or flags; a thick gathered smock with wide sleeves graced with bracelets and crucifixes about their necks: they wear linen rolls about their heads of divers fashions: in Ulster carelessly wound about: in Connacht like bishops' mitres, a very stately attire, and once prohibited by statute: in Munster resembling a thick Cheshire cheese."—T. Gainsford, *The Glory of England* (1618), p. 151. For further particulars of Irish dress, see pp. 65–6, 347–50.

[3] See p. 316 *n.* 2.

by famine. The traitors are not contented, only to spoil the kine and garrons,[1] but also send naked to this city the men, not sparing (a shameful thing to be reported) to use the honest housewives of the country in like manner, and torment them with more cruel pains than either Phalaris or any of the old tyrants could invent. The chieftains of this rebellion are James Fitzmaurice, called Captain of the Geraldines, and MacCarthy Mór, who refuses the new title of Earl, and is offended with any one that calleth him Earl of Clancar.[2] These and other rebels have forced Kinsale to compound. Great need of munition and victual.

(3) James Fitzmaurice of Desmond to the Mayor and Corporation of Cork (12 July, 1569). [*Cal. S.P. Ireland*, p. 13.]

Requires them to abolish out of that city that old heresy newly raised and invented, and namely Barnaby Daaly, and all them that be Huguenots, both men and women.

XXXII. FITZMAURICE OF DESMOND TAKES KILMALLOCK

[*Annals of the Four Masters* (ed. and tr. O'Donovan), V. 1653–5.]

[1570] James Fitzmaurice took Kilmallock, not from a desire of [obtaining] its riches and various treasures, though its riches were immense, but because it had always been the *rendez-vous* and sally-port of the English and Geraldines [in their contests] against him. Before sunrise in the morning those who had gone to sleep happily and comfortably were aroused from their slumber by a furious attack made by the warlike troops of the Clann-Sweeny and Clann-Sheehy,[3] who were along with James Fitzmaurice; and they proceeded to divide among themselves its gold, silver, various riches, and valuable jewels, which the father would not have acknowledged to his heir, or the mother to her daughter, on the day before. They were engaged for the space of three days and nights in carrying away the several kinds of riches and precious goods, as cups and ornamented goblets, upon their horses and steeds, to the woods and forests of Aherlow, and sending others of them privately to their friends and companions. They then set fire to the town, and raised a dense heavy . . . shroud of smoke about it, after they had torn down and demolished its houses of stone and wood; so that Kilmallock became the receptacle and abode of wolves[4] in addition to all the other misfortunes up to that time.

[1] See p. 150 *n.* 1.

[2] Donald MacCarthy Mór was created Earl of Clancare by letters patent, 24 June, 1565.—*Cal. Carew MSS.*, I. 365.

[3] The Earl of Desmond's gallowglass.

[4] Wolves were very numerous in Ireland at this period and for more than a century later. See an order made by James I for their destruction, pr. in *Procs. Roy. Ir. Acad.*, 1844, II. 77.

XXXIII. PROCLAMATION OF JAMES FITZMAURICE FITZGERALD (1579)

["The Proclamation of the Right Honourable Lord James Geraldine concerning the Justice of that War which he wageth in Ireland for the Faith" (1579). *Cal. Carew MSS.*, I. 400.]

This war is undertaken for the defence of the Catholic religion against the heretics. Pope Gregory XIII hath chosen us for general captain in this same war, as it appeareth at large by his own letters patent, which thing he did so much rather because his predecessor Pope Pius V had before deprived Elizabeth, the patroness of the aforesaid heresies, of all royal power and dominion,[1] as it is plainly declared by his declaratory sentence, the authentic copy whereof we also have to show. Therefore now we fight not against the lawful sceptre and honourable throne of England, but against a tyrant which refuseth to hear Christ speaking by his vicar.

[Instructions given by the Lord Justice and Council at Dublin to a Naval Captain (13 Jan, 1579). *Cal. Carew MSS.*, II. 199–200.]

Make sail along the west and north-west sea coasts, for the pursuit, apprehending, and plaguing of any traitors or malefactors adherent to the proclaimed traitors, Gerald, Earl of Desmond, John and James his brethren, and all such as come to their aid or go from them with messages or letters. . . .

Search all ships in the said west or north-west parts of the Realm; seize all prohibited wares; search all passengers for letters, books, ciphers, or other kind of suspect matter, that may tend either to the defacing of religion or to the dishonour of the Queen's most excellent Majesty, or any practice against this Realm and State; and commit to safe guard and custody all suspected or culpable persons.

Make stay of any English, French, Spanish, Flemish, or Scottish ships, laden with any kind of victuals, and convoy them into the Shannon. . . . Any ships freighted or bargained for by any merchants of Dublin, Drogheda, Waterford, Cork, or any other corporate towns shall be suffered to pass.

[1] The religious aspect of the war was also emphasised by Viscount Baltinglas. See a letter written by him to the Earl of Ormonde (30 July, 1580), in which he says that the highest power on earth commanded him to take the sword. "Questionless it is great want of knowledge," he explains, "and more of grace, to think and believe that a woman, incapable of all holy orders, should be the supreme governor of Christ's Church; a thing that Christ did not grant unto His own mother."—*Cal. Carew MSS.*, II. 289.

XXXIV. CAPTURE OF THE FORT OF SMERWICK (1580)

[William Camden, *Annales rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum, regnante Elizabetha, ad Annum Salutis* 1589 (1615), pp. 293–6.]

A short while after, there landed at Smerwick, in Kerry, some seven hundred Italians and Spaniards, led by one San Josepho an Italian, sent thither by the Pope of Rome and the Spaniard, as they said, to restore the Romish religion, but in truth to divide the forces of Elizabeth and divert her thoughts from the affairs of the Low Countries. . . . The Deputy sent a trumpeter to their fort to ask who they might be, what was their business in Ireland, who had sent them, and why they had made a fortified place in Elizabeth's Realm, and to bid them with all speed withdraw. They answered, that they were sent, some by the most holy Father, the Pope of Rome, others by the Catholic King of Spain, to whom the Pope of Rome had granted Ireland, since Elizabeth had justly forfeited her right there by reason of her heresy. And so they would hold what they had won and perchance take more if they were able. After the Deputy and Winter [1] had taken counsel together about the plan of the siege, the sailors took some culverins [2] quietly out of the ships at night, and making a rampart near the shore dragged them thither by the nearest way and set them in position. The soldiers meanwhile on the other side set up their great pieces for battery against the walls and both of them at once played for four whole days upon the fort. Once or twice the Spaniards sallied forth but [were beaten off with] loss. . . . Finally, on the fifth day, as they saw no succour coming from Spain nor from Desmond, they raised the white flag and begged for a parley. This was refused them since they had joined themselves with rebels, with whom to parley is unlawful. Then they asked that they might have leave to depart with their baggage, and this also was denied them. . . . The Deputy, bitterly railing against the Pope of Rome, bid them surrender themselves without condition. And as they could obtain no other terms, they raised the white flag for the second time, crying *misericordia*, *misericordia*, and delivered themselves over utterly to the mercy of the Deputy, who there and then consulted his officers what should be done with them. But since those who had given themselves up were as many as the English, and there was danger from the rebels who were at hand more than 1,500 strong, and the English were so destitute of food and clothing that they would have mutinied if they had not been relieved out of the spoil taken from the enemy's fort, and there

[1] Sir William Winter, who was in command of the fleet.

[2] The heaviest gun in ordinary use in the sixteenth century; length about 12 feet, bore 5½ inches, weight of shot about 20 lbs.

were no ships to carry the enemy away, this was their conclusion (against the will of the Deputy, who wept thereat) that the leaders should be saved and all the rest put to the sword for an example, and that the Irish should be hanged; which was presently done.

XXXV. DESOLATION OF MUNSTER AFTER THE WARS

[Edmund Spenser, *View of the Present State of Ireland*,[1] Spenser's *Works* (Globe ed.), p. 654.]

Notwithstanding that the same (Munster) was a most rich and plentiful country, full of corn and cattle, that you would have thought they would have been able to stand long, yet ere one year and a half they were brought to such wretchedness, as that any stony heart would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glens they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them; they looked like anatomies of death, they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eat of the dead carrions, happy were they if they could find them, yea, and one another soon after, insomuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves; and if they found a plot of watercresses or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the time, yet not able long to continue there withal; that in short space there were none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful country suddenly made void of man and beast.

XXXVI. SHANE O'NEILL AT THE COURT OF ELIZABETH

[William Camden, *Annales rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum regnante Elizabetha, ad Annum Salutis* 1589 (1615), pp. 78–9.]

[1562] And now Shane O'Neill came from Ireland, to keep the promise he had made a year before, with an escort of gallowglass,[2] armed with battle-axes, bare-headed, with flowing

[1] Spenser was in Ireland from 1580 to 1598. His *View* was written in 1596 and published posthumously. He held several Irish offices, and secured much landed property in the South, especially after the confiscation of the estates of the Earl of Desmond in 1586. He was present at the capture of the Fort of Smerwick in 1580, and approved of the massacre. It is possible that his picture of misery quoted here is overdrawn, but see Sir Henry Sydney's letter to the Queen (20 April, 1567), quoted in Collins, *Letters and Memorials*, I. 24, and Sir Warham St. Leger's account of the State of Munster after the war, quoted by Bagwell, *op. cit.* III. 98. Sir William Pelham, the Lord Justice, had promised the Privy Council (16 Feb., 1579) to make "as bare a country as ever Spaniard set his foot in," and the threat seems to have been fulfilled.—*Cal. Carew MSS.*, II. 220. See pp. 247 *n.* 4, 252 *n.* 1.

[2] See p. 87 *n.* 3.

curls, yellow shirts dyed with saffron . . . large sleeves, short tunics and rough cloaks, whom the English followed with as much wonderment as if they had come from China or America. O'Neill was received with all kindness, and throwing himself at the Queen's feet he owned with lamentation his crime of rebellion and begged for pardon. When asked with courtesy by what right he had excluded Hugh his brother Matthew's son from his ancestral lands, he replied boldly, as he had done in Ireland, "By the best of right. For I," he said, "as the true and legitimate son and heir of Con, born of his lawful wife, have entered upon my father's estate. Matthew was the son of a blacksmith of Dundalk, not true born, but born after Con's marriage with his wife Alison and craftily passed off on Con by the mother as his son, so as to cheat me of the possessions and title of O'Neill. If I were to suffer such a wrong no other of the family of the O'Neills would ever endure it. The surrender made by my father to Henry VIII and the grant which Henry made him by letters patent, was of no value, since Con had no estate in what he surrendered save for his own life, nor could he yield it without the consent of the chiefs and people by whom he had been chosen to the dignity of O'Neill. Such letters patent are of no avail, unless the true head of the family is first approved by the oath of twelve men, which in this case was not done. But I am the true heir by the law of God and man, being the first son of my father born in lawful wedlock, and called O'Neill by the common consent of chiefs and people according to the law of our ancestors called tanistry,[1] by which the man grown is to be preferred before the boy, and the uncle to his nephew whose grandfather has outlived his father. Nor have I taken to myself one whit more authority over the chiefs of Ulster than my ancestors exercised in their own right in times past, as I can bring forth proofs to show. But I have spoken of this elsewhere." So the Queen believed his tale, and he was sent home with honour and for some time served well and loyally against the robbers of the Hebrides.[2]

XXXVII. SHANE O'NEILL TO CHARLES IX OF FRANCE AND TO THE CARDINAL OF LORRAINE[3]

[Letter to Charles IX (25 April, 1566). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, pp. 298–9.]

Desires that the perpetual treaty proposed by the late king may be concluded. 5,000 or 6,000 French, well-armed, to be presently sent to assist in expelling the English. Shane and his successors

[1] See p. 59 *n.* 2. [2] See p. 46.

[3] Both these letters of Shane are reproduced in Gilbert's *Facsimiles of National MSS. of Ireland*, IV. iii., append. vi., pp. 70–1.

will be humble subjects to the Crown of France. King Charles to write to the Queen of Scots in their favour. Relates that on his repair to England, notwithstanding the safe conduct obtained for himself and retinue from the Queen, the senseless Council of England (*consilio insipienti Anglie*), the Lord Lieutenant and the Council and nobility of Ireland, some of his gentlemen were detained as hostages, and imprisoned as criminals, but all have now of the grace of God returned to Ireland.

Letter to the Cardinal of Lorraine.

Beseeches the Cardinal, in consideration of his defence of the Romish faith, to persuade the French King to send the aid he needs.

[Originals in *Latin.*]

XXXVIII. THE POWER OF SHANE O'NEILL

[Edmund Campion, *History of Ireland* (ed. Ware, 1633), chap. x.] [1]

Shane was reputed for the rightful O'Neill . . . challenged superiority over the Irish lords of Ulster, warred also upon the English part, subdued O'Reilly, imprisoned O'Donnell, his wife and his son, enriched himself with all O'Donnell's forts, castles and plate . . . fortified a strong island in Tyrone, which he named spitefully "Foogh-ni-Gall," [2] that is, the "hate of Englishmen," whom he so detested, that he hanged a soldier for eating English biscuit. . . . He was yet persuaded . . . to reconcile himself to good order, and to remember the honourable estate wherein King Henry placed his father . . . and made a voyage into England, where the courtiers noting his haughtiness and barbarity, devised his style thus: "O'Neill the Great, cousin to Saint Patrick, friend to the Queen of England, enemy to all the world besides." Thence he sped home again, graciously dealt with, used civility . . . ordered the North so properly, that if any subject could approve the loss of money or goods within his precinct, he would assuredly either force the robber to restitution, or of his own cost redeem the harm to the loser's contentation. Sitting at meat, before he put one morsel into his mouth, he used to slice a portion above the daily alms, and send it namely to some beggar at his gate, saying it was meet to serve Christ first.[3] But the lords of Ulster, and elsewhere,

[1] Part of Campion's description, which was written in 1569, is obviously copied from the preamble to the Act of Attainder of Shane O'Neill (11 Eliz. c. 1), *Irish Statutes* (1786), I. 322.

[2] Recte, *Fuath na nGall.*

[3] For a graphic account of the camp of Shane O'Neill, see the *Four Masters*, V., 1555

whom he yoked and spoiled at pleasure, abhorring his pride and extortion, craved assistance of the Deputy, for redress thereof. O'Neill advertised, increaseth his rage, disturbeth and driveth out Maguire the plaintiff, burneth the Metropolitan Church of Armagh, because no English army might lodge therein . . . besiegeth Dundalk, practiseth to call strangers into the land for aid, as appeareth by those letters which Sir Henry Sydney, Lord Deputy, intercepted, occupieth all the North of Ireland, being 100 miles broad, 120 long.

XXXIX. THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE O'NEILLS ABOLISHED

[Act of Attainder of Shane O'Neill (11 Eliz. c. 1). *Irish Statutes* (1786), I. 335.]

Forasmuch as the name of the O'Neill, in the judgements of the uncivil people of this Realm, doth carry in itself so great a sovereignty, as they suppose that all the lords and people of Ulster should rather live in servitude to that name, than in subjection to the crown of England: be it therefore, by your Majesty, with the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the same name of O'Neill, with the manner and ceremonies of his creation, and all the superiorities, titles, dignities, pre-eminences, jurisdictions, authorities, rules, tributes, and expenses, used, claimed, usurped, or taken by any O'Neill, as in right of that name, or otherwise, from the beginning, of any the lords, captains, or people of Ulster, and all manner of offices given by the said O'Neill, shall from henceforth cease, end, determine, and be utterly abolished and extinct for ever. And that what person soever he be that shall hereafter challenge, execute, or take upon him that name of O'Neill, or any superiority, dignity, pre-eminence and jurisdiction, authority, rule, tributes, or expenses, used, claimed, usurped, or taken heretofore by any O'Neill, of the lords, captains, or people of Ulster, the same shall be deemed, adjudged, and taken high treason against your Majesty, your crown and dignity: and the person or persons therein offending, and being thereof attainted, shall suffer and sustain such pains of death, forfeiture of lands and goods, as in cases of high treason by the law of this Realm hath been accustomed and used.

And for the better extirpation of that name, be it further enacted . . . that all the lords, captains and people of Ulster, shall be from henceforth severed, exempted, and cut off from all rule and authority of O'Neill, and shall only depend upon your imperial

crown of England, and yield to the same their subjection, obedience, and services for ever. . . .

XL. ROYAL PROCLAMATION AGAINST THE EARL OF TYRONE (1595)

[*Cal. Carew MSS.*, III. 111.]

Whereas the Queen advanced Hugh O'Neill, the son of one Matthew Ferdorcha O'Neill, a bastard son of Con O'Neill, commonly called "Great O'Neill," in Tyrone, to the noble dignity of an Earl, endowed him with larger territories than any other Earl of Ireland, allowed him yearly 1,000 marks sterling, and at his repair into England gave to him and his heirs by letters patent very large possessions and rule over sundry her subjects; yet nevertheless he has fallen from allegiance, and committed sundry foul murders and other violent oppressions against her subjects; as namely in hanging one of Shane O'Neill's sons, born of more noble parents than the Earl himself, for which act he was pardoned, upon promise of amendment; but he has since taken by force two others of the said Shane O'Neill's sons, holding them captives in places unknown. Aspiring to live like a tyrant over a great number of good subjects then in Ulster, he has lately allured O'Donnell, the chieftain of Tyrconnel [1] (by matching with him in marriage), whose fathers and predecessors have always been loyal, to enter into rebellion; and has in like manner comforted and provoked, with the aid of his brethren and bastards, certain other disobedient subjects, as Maguire, chieftain of Fermanagh, the traitor O'Rourke's son, and sundry of the MacMahons of Monaghan, to invade divers countries in and near to the English Pale. In order to become Prince of Ulster, he has also partly by force, partly by false persuasions, allured and drawn to concur with him in rebellion a great part of the chieftains of Ulster.

For these causes her Majesty doth now, upon the preparation of her army, notify to all her good subjects, both English and Irish, the said Earl to be accepted the principal traitor and chief author of this rebellion, and a known practiser with Spain and other her Majesty's enemies; commanding all her subjects that have aided and accompanied him, and yet shall now desire to live peaceably in her favour, to withdraw themselves from him and his complices. And when her army shall enter Ulster, if they come to the Lord Deputy, they shall upon their submission have pardon of their lives and lands.

[1] The modern county of Donegal.

XLI. CAPTURE AND ESCAPE OF HUGH ROE O'DONNELL

[E.C.S., *The Government of Ireland under Sir John Perrot*[1] (1626), pp. 129–31.]

[1587.] Now O'Donnell began to be doubted likewise upon constant intelligence sent by Tirlough Luineach O'Neill, that he had sent into the islands for hired men, to assist him in some action he was about to undertake; which raised a question in Council, how he should be dealt withal; some of them being of opinion first to summon him to answer his contempts, and then (if he came not) to raise forces to fetch him in, or punish him for his disobedience; but the Deputy (restrained from journeys in his own person) knowing it would ask long and chargeable work, to subdue him and his confederates, dissented from that opinion, and told the Council he would make trial of a stratagem he had conceived whereby to bring him in, or secure him from doing harm, before he would put her Majesty to so great charge, or hazard her good subjects, which might breed annoyance to the country, and interruption of the present peace;[2] to which, way was given, and the Deputy accordingly attempted it, by sending . . . a merchant of Dublin, with a ship laden with sacks,[3] as if he had come out of Spain, directing him to run up by Donegal, as far as he could into O'Donnell's country, where he should not only offer to sell at a cheap price but be liberal in giving wine to such as should come aboard him, and that if O'Donnell or his son came aboard him by that means (as he knew they would), he should give them so much as might make them forget themselves, and being drunk, should clap them under hatch, and bring them away to Dublin. This device was as carefully performed as projected, young O'Donnell being by this means surprised and brought away; a service at that time very available to the State, for keeping that country in quiet, and restraining so stirring a person as O'Donnell was, from the pursuit of his evil affections, bent at that time against the Queen and her service. Notwithstanding, afterwards in the ensuing trouble, it was imputed as an injury done to O'Donnell, and interpreted as an act that did rather interrupt, than preserve the peace of that country; the State thinking that the blame which should be laid on Sir John Perrot's

[1] E.C.S. was in Ireland in Perrot's time; this is clear from the Introduction to his book.

[2] The policy of the Government was to preserve a balance of power in the North, but after the fall of Shane O'Neill they had no further motive for supporting the O'Donnells, hereditary enemies of the O'Neills. The sons of Irish chieftains were often taken as hostages. See a list of the pledges in Dublin Castle, 1588, in Rawlinson's *Life of Sir John Perrot* (1728), pp. 283–5.

[3] A general name for a class of white wines then imported from Spain.

carriage herein would please O'Donnell, and make him the more apt to be drawn to conformity and obedience; but this shallow and colloguing policy did work little effect in him, whose heart was wholly (by foreign practice) alienated from his loyalty, and by marriage of Tyrone's daughter,[1] altogether devoted to his faction and service, being his assistant and partaker in all his rebellion.

[Escape from Dublin Castle, Christmas Eve (1592). Lughaidh O'Clery, *Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell* (ed. and tr. D. Murphy),[2] pp. 11–27.]

[1587.] As for the ship of which we have spoken and her crew, when they had finished the business for which they had come, and taken with them the most desirable of the hostages and pledges of the country, they went back with the current of the tide until they reached the ocean. They sailed after that with the strength of the north-west wind along the shore of Ireland south-eastwards back by the way they had already come, till they landed in the harbour of Dublin again. It became known immediately throughout the whole city and to the Lord Justice and the Council, especially that they had come after this manner, and that Hugh O'Donnell was in their custody. They were glad of his coming, yet it was not at all through love of him, and they summoned him to them without delay so that he was face to face with them, and they proceeded to converse with him and ask information of him, and they were chiefly bent on searching out and discovering his character. In the end they ordered him to be put in a strong stone castle, where the nobles of the sons of Milesius were in chains and captivity, expecting slaughter and death, together with some of the nobles of the white foreigners[3] who had come to the island long before, and had entered into amity and friendship with the Irish against the English who came last from the country of the Saxons to take the island from both of them. It was their solace and entertainment day and night in the close prison where they were, to be lamenting over the intolerable hardships and relating the great cruelty which was inflicted on them both, English and Irish, and listening to the unjust sentences pronounced, and the dishonour and ill-treatment done against the high-born nobles of the sons of Milesius and of the white foreigners alike.

As for Hugh O'Donnell, he was, just like the rest, in chains for the space of three years and three months, hearing of the ignoble bondage in which the Irish were. It was anguish and sickness of

[1] Hugh Roe's capture caused a sensation among the Irish. Tyrone offered £1,000 for his release. He remained in Dublin Castle for three years, and then made an unsuccessful attempt to escape. His second attempt some months later was successful.

[2] The Life is written in archaic language, and forms the basis of the account given in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, VI. 1913–27. The extract given here is a revised version of Murphy's translation.

[3] i.e. the old-English settlers or "Sean Ghaill," *Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores.*

mind and great pain to him to be as he was, and it was not on his own account, but because of the unbecoming helplessness of his friends and kinsmen, his gentlemen (*urradha*) and leaders, his sanctuaries and holy churches, his poets and learned men, his subjects and people, expelled and banished to other territories throughout Ireland. He was always pondering and thinking how he might find a way of escape. This was no easy thing for him, for he was put every night into a well-closed apartment in the castle for security, and until the hour of tierce [1] on the morrow. That castle was situated thus. There was a broad deep trench of water all round it, and a compact bridge of boards over it, opposite the door of the castle, and the grim-visaged host of the English outside and inside the gate to guard it, so that no one should pass them, in or out, without being challenged by the foreign troop. However, there is no guard that is not taken unawares at last. . . .

[1592.] When it seemed to the Son of the Virgin time that he should escape, he and some of his companions found the keepers off their guard in the very beginning of the night before they were taken to the refectory, and they took their fetters off. They went after that to the privy, having a long rope, and they let themselves down by means of the rope through the privy, till they came to the deep trench which was around the fortress. After that they climbed to the opposite bank, till they were on the edge of the trench at the other side. The hostages who escaped with Hugh were Henry and Art, the two sons of Shane, son of Con Bacach, son of Con, son of Henry, son of Eoghan. There was a certain faithful servant who visited them in the castle, in the guise of a horseboy, to whom they imparted their secret, so that he met them face to face when need was, and became their guide. They went off after that through the crowded street near the fortress, without being known or overheard by any one, for they were no more noticed than any one else of the city people, as no one stopped to converse with or visit any one in the houses of the stronghold at that hour, for it was the beginning of the night exactly, and the gates of the city were not yet closed. They went out beyond the city in that manner. They leaped over the rough and rugged parts of the huge moats and of the strong, firm palisades which were outside the city, until they came to the slopes of Slieve Roe,[2] over which Hugh had crossed at the time he first escaped. The darkness of the night and the hurry of the flight separated the oldest of the party from them. This was Henry O'Neill. Hugh was the youngest of the nobles. They were not pleased at the separation. They went on, however, their attendant leading the way. The night came on with a drizzle and downpour, and a

[1] One of the canonical hours, 9 a.m., i.e. three hours after prime (6 a.m.).
[2] The Three Rock Mountain, Co. Dublin.

venomous shower of rain and thick smooth snowflakes, so that it was not easy for the high-born nobles to walk on account of the storm and the scanty clothing, for they were without overmantles, having left them in the privy through which they had come.

This hurried journey, strange and unusual, was more severe on Art than on Hugh, and his gait was feebler and slower, for he was corpulent, thick-thighed, and he had been a long time confined in prison. It was not so with Hugh, for he had not passed the period of boyhood, and he had not ceased to grow in size and strength then, and he was active and light on that account, and his gait was quick and nimble. When he perceived Art growing weak and his step heavy, what he did to him was to place one hand of his on his own shoulder and the other hand on the shoulder of the servant. They went on in this way across the upper part of the level mountain. They were tired and weary then, and they could not bring Art further with them. As they could not, they rested under the shelter of a lofty cliff on the moor which was in front of them. After halting there, they sent the servant with news of them to Glenmalure, the place where Fiach MacHugh was. This was a secure impregnable valley, and the English of Dublin were accustomed with their engines of war to besiege and assault it, in order to plunder and lay it waste. This Fiach maintained it valiantly against them, so that many heads were left behind with him, and they could do nothing against him ; but though their attacks were many and various, and though there was valour in their champions of battle, he was not submissive to them so long as he lived. If any hostage or captive escaped from them, he would not pass him by, but would make tryst with him, and his first journey would be to Glenmalure, the place where Fiach was, as we have said, for it was his strong dwelling. So, too, the hostages aforesaid made a tryst with him, and sent their servant to him. When he came to where Fiach was, he told his story to him and the state in which he left the youths who had escaped from the city, and that they would not be found alive if he did not go to their assistance quickly.

Thereupon Fiach selected a party of his picked men, and bade them go with the servant to the youths. They rose up at once as they were ordered, and went off, one having food and another ale and beer, until they came to the mountain, the place where the men had been left. Alas ! truly the state and position of these nobles was not happy or pleasant when the soldiers who had come to seek them arrived. They had neither coverlets nor plaids nor clothing about their bodies to protect them from the cold and ice of the sharp winter season, but the only bedclothes around their fair skins, and pillows under their heads, were high-fenced bed-

rails, white bordered of hail, freezing all round them, and attaching their light tunics and shirts of fine linen thread to their bodies, and their long shoes and sandals to their shins and feet, so that they seemed to the men that had come not to be human beings at all, but their shapes in sods of earth covered up by the snow; for they did not perceive a stir in their limbs, but just as if they were dead, and they were nearly so. Thereupon the soldiers raised them from where they lay and bade them take some of the food and ale, but they failed in this, for every drink they took they let it out of their mouths again. Even so, Art died at last and was buried in that place. As for Hugh, he retained the beer after that, and his strength was on the increase after drinking of it, except in his two feet, for they were like dead members without motion, swollen and blistered from the frost and snow. The men carried him to the valley of which we have spoken. He was put into a house hidden in a remote part of the thick wood. He had medical skill and care in every way he needed, until the arrival of a messenger in secret, to inquire and get news about him from his brother-in-law Hugh O'Neill. He made ready to set out after the messenger had come to him. It was painful to him to go on that journey, for the physicians could not heal his feet all at once after being pierced by the frost, as we have said, and some one else was needed to put him on horseback and to take him in his arms again whenever he alighted. He was so until the physicians cut off his two great toes later on when he came to his own country. Fiach sent a troop of horse with him in the night to escort him across the river Liffey. . . . There were ambuscades and watches from the English of Dublin on the shallow fords of the river and on their usual roads, since they heard that Hugh O'Donnell was in Glenmalure, that he might not escape by them to the province of Conchobhar,[1] and that the rest of the prisoners who had fled with him out of the city might not escape; so that it was necessary for the youths for that reason to approach very near the city, over a difficult and deep ford which was on the river, and they came without being seen or overheard by the English till they were at the lawn of the castle, in the very beginning of the night.[2]

[1] i.e. Ulster.

[2] Hugh continued his perilous journey on horseback to the North, where he was welcomed with enthusiasm by his own people. Shortly afterwards he was elected head of his clan. He made various expeditions into Connacht, 1595–7. He was present at the Battle of the Yellow Ford, and at the siege of Kinsale. In 1602, after the Irish defeat, O'Clery states that he could neither sleep nor rest, so that his people feared his death by the suffering he endured; he went to Spain where he made a considerable impression through "his appearance, his fame, his eloquence, the extent of his wrongs, and his lordly language." He died of poison at Simancas (1602), and was buried with great honour at Valladolid. See O'Clery, *Life of O'Donnel* ed. Murphy), pp. 321–9.

XLII. TERMS OF PEACE

(1) Conditions to be demanded of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone (Sept. 1595). [*Cal. Carew MSS.*, III. 521.]

That the country of Tyrone may be limited to contain no more to be by him possessed than by his letters patent is limited. . . .

That Tyrone may be divided into two countries and two shires. . . .

That he disclaim all rule over any the Irish captains that be not of Tyrone. . . .

That he suffer the Queen's garrisons to continue in peace at Monaghan, Armagh, and the Blackwater. . . .

That he shall not aid nor yield favour to O'Donnell, Maguire, O'Rourke or MacMahon, if they shall refuse reasonable conditions for their pardons.

That he shall deliver to the Lord Deputy all such Jesuits or seminary priests as shall be named to him, and that have repaired unto him in this time of rebellion, or shall banish them or permit them to be attached.

For observation of all these articles he shall give as a pledge his son as he formerly promised, and four others of his blood, as the Council of Ireland shall think meet.

(2) Terms of the final submission of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone (8 April, 1603). [*Cal. S.P. Ireland*, p. 13.][1]

[Tyrone] vows he will continue a loyal subject to the King's person, crown, prerogative and laws, utterly renouncing and abjuring the name and title of O'Neill. Will deliver pledges for the performance hereof, and of the following articles :—Renounces all kind of dependency on any foreign power, to serve the King against all invaders and to divulge any practices he shall know of against the King's person or his crowns. Especially abjures all dependency on the King of Spain. Renounces all challenge or inter-meddling with the uriaghts.[2] Will be conformable and assistant to the King's magistrates, for the advancement of his service and the peaceable government of this Kingdom, as namely for the abolishing of all barbarous customs contrary to the laws, being the seeds of all incivility, and for the clearing of difficult passages and places, which are the nurseries of rebellion, wherein he will employ the labours of the people of his country, and will endeavour for himself and the people of his country to erect civil habitations, and such as shall be of greater effect to preserve against any force but the power of the State.

[1] These are given in full by Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary*, III. 299–301.

[2] Ir., *urradha*, vassal chiefs.

(3) Demands made by Tyrone (Jan. 1595). [*Cal. Carew MSS.*, III. 133–4.]

That all persons may have free liberty of conscience.

That the Earl and all the inhabitants of Tyrone may have pardon and be restored to their blood; and that all the chieftains and others who have taken the Earl's part may have like pardon. . . . All these to depend upon the Earl's peace, the Earl yielding for them such rents, services, and rising-out as their ancestors have paid to her Majesty's predecessors. . . . That no garrison, sheriff or other officer shall remain in Tyrconnel, Tyrone, or any of the inhabitants' countries before named, excepting the Newry and Carrickfergus. The Earl, O'Donnell and the rest, if these requests be granted, will remain dutiful; and after a while, when the great fear which they conceive is lessened,[1] they will draw themselves to a more nearness of loyalty to her Highness.

["Articles intended to be stood upon by Tyrone."[2] *Cal. S.P.I.* (1599–1600), pp. 279–80.]

That the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman religion be openly preached and taught throughout all Ireland as well in cities as borough towns, by bishops, seminary priests, Jesuits, and all other religious men.[3]

That the Church of Ireland be wholly governed by the Pope.

That all cathedrals and parish churches, abbeys, and all other religious houses, with all tithes and church lands, now in the hands of the English, be presently restored to the Catholic churchmen. . . .

That all Irish priests and religious men may freely pass and repass, by sea and land, to and from foreign countries.

That no Englishman may be a churchman in Ireland.

That there be erected an university upon the Crown rents of Ireland, wherein all sciences shall be taught according the manner of the Catholic Roman Church.

That the Governor of Ireland be at least an Earl, and of the Privy Council of England, bearing the name of Viceroy.

That the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord Admiral, the Council of State, the Justices of the Laws, the Queen's Attorney, Queen's Sergeant, and all other officers appertaining to the Council and the law of Ireland, be Irish men.

[1] For the Irish distrust of Government promises, see *Four Masters*, VI. 1999.

[2] Sir William Warren in a letter to Sir Robert Cecil (24 Dec., 1599) stated that he enclosed an "unreasonable rabble of Tyrone's demands, not as sent from himself, but a copy of them gotten underhand by a gentleman whom he often employed thither by direction from the State."—*Cal. S.P.I.*, p. 339. The "demands" are practically identical with the "articles" quoted above which are endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil with the word "Utopia." For a convenient short account of successive negotiations with Tyrone, see Gilbert, *Account of Facs. of Nat. MSS., Ireland*, pp. 242–57.

[3] In all negotiations with the English authorities, Tyrone made liberty of conscience a primary demand.—*Cal. Carew MSS.*, III. 349.

That all principal Governments of Ireland, as Connacht, Munster, etc., be governed by Irish noblemen.

That the Master of Ordnance, and half the soldiers with their officers resident in Ireland, be Irish men.

That no Irishman's heirs under age shall lose their lands for the faults of their ancestors. . . .

That no children nor any other friends be taken as pledges for the good bearing of their parents, and if there be any such pledges now in the hands of the English, they must be presently released.

That all statutes made against the preferment of Irishmen, as well in their own country as abroad, be presently recalled.

That the Queen nor her successors may in no sort press an Irishman to serve them against his will.

That O'Neill, O'Donnell, the Earl of Desmond, with all their partakers, may peaceably enjoy all lands and privileges that did appertain to their predecessors 200 years past.

That all Irishmen, of what quality they be, may freely travel in foreign countries for their better experience, without making any of the Queen's officers acquainted withal.

That all Irishmen may as freely travel and traffic all merchandises in England as Englishmen, paying the same rights and tributes as the English do.

That all Irishmen may freely traffic with all merchandises, that shall be thought necessary by the Council of State of Ireland for the profit of their Republic, with foreigners or in foreign countries, and that no Irishman shall be troubled for the passage of priests or other religious men.

That all Irishmen that will may learn, and use all occupations and arts whatsoever.

That all Irishmen may freely build ships of what burden they will, furnishing the same with artillery and all munition at their pleasure.

XLIII. BATTLE OF THE YELLOW FORD[1] (1598)

(1) **Account by an English Soldier.** [Account of the battle by Charles Montague, Lieutenant-General of the English Horse, under Sir Henry Bagnal (16 Aug., 1598). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, pp. 227–8.]

On Monday, the 14th August, the army marched from Armagh

[1] There is a graphic account of this battle by Philip O'Sullivan Beare in his *Historiæ Catholicæ Iberniæ Compendium* (1621), III. iv, ch. 5. A contemporary coloured plan is reproduced in Gilbert, *Facs. of Nat. MSS.*, IV. i., Plate xxiv. See Preface to *Cal. S.P.I.* (1598–9), pp. xxii–xxxii.

(leaving there all our victuals and some munition), for the Blackwater, by computation 3,500 foot and 300 horse. Their form was in six regiments. We marched severally some six or seven score paces distance between each regiment, our way being hard and hilly ground, within caliver[1] shot of wood and bog on both sides, which was wholly possessed by the enemy continually playing upon us. After a mile's marching thus we approached the enemy's trench, being a ditch cast in front of our passage a mile long, some five feet deep, and four feet over, with a thorny hedge on the top. In the middle of a bog, some forty score paces over, our vanguard passed the trench. The battle stood, for the bringing up of the saker,[2] which stuck fast in a ford, and also for our rear, which, being hard set to, retired foully to Armagh. In the meantime, the vanguard passing, one was so distressed, as they fell to run, and were all in effect put to the sword without resistance. Up came the Marshal, being Chief Commander, to relieve them, who was killed dead in the head with a bullet; notwithstanding, two other regiments passed over the trench. The battle coming up, two barrels of powder took fire amongst them, by which they dis-ranked and routed; in which while, those two former regiments, being passed the trench, were for the most part put to the sword. Then, by the help of our horse, the enemy's munition being well spent, we brought off the rest into the plain, and so recovered Armagh; where the captains resolved to refresh their men with victuals and munition, and so to march directly to the Newry. In the meantime the enemy approached, and fell round on all sides of us with their whole force. Then the captains, finding the insufficiency both in mind and means of their men, concluded that the horse should adventure to break forth through the enemy's quarter, and so pass into the Pale, to advertise the State, that present succour might be sent to fetch them off; or else the enemy, seeing the horse gone, might be persuaded that they having a month or two (*sic*) victuals, which indeed was there, but disposed upon their first resolution, so as they made account they had not now left meat for above ten days at the uttermost, that the enemy could not keep together, hearing, by a prisoner that was taken, that O'Donnell and Maguire was (*sic*) then ready to depart. The horsemen, according their desires, performed it with some loss. By the captains' estimation we had killed and run away to the enemy, not less than 1,800 foot, some ten horsemen, and thirty horses.[3] The enemy lost, as we heard by some of theirs that we took, seven or eight hundred. There remains of ours about 1,500 in the church of Armagh.

[1] A light kind of musket or arquebuse which could be fired without a rest.
[2] See p. 96 *n.* 4.
[3] See p. 42 *n.* 3.

(2) Letter of Reproof from the Queen to the Irish Government (1 Dec., 1598). [*Cal. Carew MSS.*, III. 284–5.]

Although we have forborne to write many letters to you since these late dangerous alterations in Ireland, we have sent over great supplies, to our excessive charge; yet we receive naught else but news of fresh losses and calamities. Although you have the great number of 9,000 men, we do not only see the northern traitor untouched at home, and range where else he pleased, but the provincial rebels in every province, by such as he can spare, enabled to give law to our provincial governors; besides that the Pale is not only wasted, but the walls of Dublin (where our State is seated) esteemed unsafe, and (as we hear) the suburbs thought a dangerous lodging for some of our principal counsellors. We disdain to bear affronts from a rabble of base kerne. In providing a remedy no expense shall be spared. . . .

Our army is not to hazard any main prosecution until it may be better provided and strengthened. . . . In Munster and Leinster labour chiefly to assure the walled towns. . . . We will not suffer them (our subjects) any longer to be oppressed by those vile rebels, but send a sufficient force of horse and foot out of England, strengthened with old soldiers of the Low Countries.[1]

XLIV. THE REBELLION OF HUGH O'NEILL

(1) Dangerous Condition of the Country. [Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Robert Cecil (9 Feb., 1596). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, p. 468.]

The state of the Realm was never so dangerous in the memory of man as it is at this present, in regard of the uniting of O'Donnell, and all the chieftains of Ulster and Connacht with Tyrone, and the great combination which they have drawn together, stretching itself unto all the parts of this Kingdom, and the strength of the traitors through Tyrone's wealth who is well furnished with all the habiliments of war,[2] and [they] have so trained their men, as in sundry encounters that they have had with our men, they seem to be other enemies, and not those that in times past, were wont never to attempt her Majesty's forces in the plain field . . . there is great cause in my opinion for her Majesty to give speedy direction for the suppressing of this rebellion.

[1] Soon after this the permanent forces in Ireland were raised to 1,300 horse and 16,000 foot.—*Cal. Carew MSS.*, IV. liv. For Tyrone's forces, see p. 42 *n.* 2.

[2] "These cannibals have drawn the greatest part of their kerne to be musketeers, and their gallowglass pikes, they want no furniture neither of muskets, fowling pieces, calivers, swords, graven murrions, powder and shot great store."—Sir John Dowdall to Lord Burghley (9 Mar., 1596). *Cal. S.P.I.*, p. 486. Arms and munitions were sold to the Irish by the merchants of the towns. See p. 191.

(2) A Widespread Confederation. [The Lords Justices and the rest of the Council to the Privy Council (17 June, 1598). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, p. 182.]

We have daily advertisements of Tyrone's treacherous practices to extend his rebellion and treason into all parts of the Realm, having his ministers to pass to and fro through every province and other country of the Kingdom, labouring to seduce the people, by many colourable offers and pretences, to right them in their supposed Irish claims and titles to land and countries, long since lawfully evicted from them, and to introduce Papistry, which he beginneth now to make a more firm ground of his rebellion than he did before, insinuating that he is borne up and maintained therein by the Spanish King, by which course he hath wrought dangerous impressions in the hearts of the people, who, of themselves, are overmuch inclined to alteration, but specially being carried with the promise of restitution to their idolatrous religion and old vain titles of lands. And though there be some, who are not so lightly carried down the stream as the rest, but do stay to await what time will bring forth, yet it is to be doubted that many of those seeing her Majesty not to proceed so resolutely as were to be wished, to pull down this great traitor, may grow to a further weakness in their loyalty than is meet for good subjects, specially when they consider how long her Majesty hath suffered him in his rebellion, and how much he hath prevailed therein . . . if Tyrone be not out of hand before winter otherwise encountered than he hath been, he will put in hazard to shake the whole State. For, though he feed the people with the pretences before touched, yet we are of opinion that it is not religion, nor old beggarly titles, that do carry him, but that it is the alteration of the Government and State that he aimeth at, as by his letters, which we have formerly signified to your Lordships, he hath promised to the Spaniards, and is still countenanced and encouraged therein by them.

(3) Aims of English and Irish Lords. ["A Discourse of Ireland" sent to Sir Robert Cecil from Sir George Carew (1601). *Cal. Carew MSS.*, IV. 168.]

The common opinion received, and by the rebels published, to be the principal motives of their late and former rebellions since her Majesty's reign, is supposed to be religion; but therein let no man be deceived, for ambition only is the true and undoubted cause that moves the lords and others of this Realm to take arms. In the which, the English race and the Irish have different ends. The English to recover again the supreme government in bearing her Majesty's sword by one of themselves, as for many years and ages they have done, and generally striving to have the captainries of their countries like palatinates in their own hands, not admitting

of sheriffs or other officers of justice to restrain their barbarous extortion or to overlook them. Thus far only the ambition of the English reacheth ; for to be subjects to any other prince than to her Majesty, or her successors, no man can think them so sottish as to desire it ; and to be in any other quality (than in the state of a subject) they cannot be so foolish as to propound any hope. The Irish lords aim at a higher mark, still retaining in memory that their ancestors have been monarchs and provincial kings of this land, and therefore to recover their former greatness, they kick at the Government and enter into rebellion, losing no times of advantage or refusing the least foreign aid that may (by troubling the State) advance their desires ; hoping in time (by strong hand) to regain the Crown of Ireland to themselves. These several ambitions swelling in the hearts of the English and Irish lords . . . are the true grounds of their continual rebellions.[1]

XLV. IRISH NEGOTIATIONS WITH SPAIN

(1) The Earl of Tyrone and O'Donnell to the King of Spain (5 Oct., 1595). [*Cal. Carew MSS.*, III. 122–3.]

Our only hope of re-establishing the Catholic religion rests on your assistance. Now or never our Church must be succoured. By the timidity or negligence of the messengers our former letters have not reached you. We therefore again beseech you to send us 2,000 or 3,000 soldiers, with money and arms, before the feast of St. Philip and St. James. With such aid we hope to restore the faith of the Church, and to secure you a kingdom.

(2) The Earl of Tyrone to Don Carolo [2] (5 Oct., 1595). [*Ibid.*]

The faith might be re-established in Ireland within one year, if the King of Spain would send only 3,000 soldiers. All the heretics would disappear, and no other sovereign would be recognised than the King Catholic. Both I and O'Donnell have besought him to succour the Church. Pray second our petition. If we obtain positive assurance of succour from the King, we will make no peace with the heretics.[3]

[1] See Carew to the Privy Council (20 July, 1602)—*Cal. Car. MSS.*, IV. 276–7. For further contemporary opinion as to the causes of Irish revolt, see Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary* (ed. 1907), II. 238–9 ; Spenser, *View* (Globe ed.), p. 649 ; *Pac. Hib.* (ed. O'Grady), I. 221–2 ; Capt. Thos. Lee, "A Brief Declaration of the Government of Ireland, opening many Corruptions in the Same" (1594), pr. in Lodge's *Desid. Cur. Hibernica.*, I, 89–150.

[2] Probably Don Luis de Carillo, Governor of Corunna. See *Cal. S.P.I.* (1600–1), pp. 105–6.

[3] Both these letters which are written in Latin were intercepted. For the negotiations between the Irish chiefs and Spain at this period, see *Cal. S.P. Spanish* (1587–1603).

(3) Philip II, King of Spain, to the Earl of Tyrone (22 Jan., 1596). [*Cal. Carew MSS.* III. 141.]

I have been informed you are defending the Catholic cause against the English. That this is acceptable to God is proved by the signal victories which you have gained. I hope you will continue to prosper; and you need not doubt but I will render you any assistance you may require. Give credence to Fussius, the bearer, and acquaint him with your affairs and your wishes.

(4) Matthew (de Oviedo), Archbishop-elect of Dublin,[1] to Philip III (24 April, 1600). [*Cal. S.P. Spanish*, pp. 655–6.]

I came to Ireland by your Majesty's orders to obtain full information from the Catholics, and urge them to continued zeal in the service of the faith and your Majesty. . . . I can assert that your Majesty has in this island the most brave and faithful vassals that any king can have, such, indeed, that if they were not already devoted to Spain, it would be necessary to obtain their adhesion by all possible means.

As the oft-promised aid from Spain was hourly expected, when we arrived with empty hands, only again to repeat the old promises, they were overcome with sorrow and dismay, especially as they had news of the enemy in force, both by land and sea. Although O'Neill and O'Donnell are full of courage, they cannot prevail over the other chiefs their followers, who fear the long delay in the arrival of succour, and suspect that they are being played with. We have done our best to stiffen them by every possible argument, assuring them of your Majesty's desire to help them . . . and promising that succour shall be sent by your Majesty with all speed. This has tranquillised them somewhat, and they promise to wait five months, as they think that they cannot in any case hold out longer than that without help. . . . They have done great things this summer, and O'Neill has overrun all Munster and submitted it to your Majesty, whilst O'Donnell has subjected Connacht. That your Majesty may understand what you possess in these Catholic[s], I may say that O'Neill had almost prevailed upon the Earl of Essex to desert the Queen's cause and join that of your Majesty, and surrender all the Realm to you. O'Neill in the course of the negotiations promised him, Essex, on behalf of your Majesty, that you would show him signal favour, and as Essex was distrustful in consequence of certain injuries he had inflicted on Spain, O'Neill gave him his son as a hostage. What more could the most loyal Spaniard have done? It is also certain that very lately O'Neill was offered the surrender of the City of

[1] See p. 33.

Cork, and he had to refuse it, as he knew not how to hold it without Spanish aid.

These and sixty other gentlemen met in this monastery of Donegal,[1] and they discussed matters not like savages, but like prudent men. They received the chains and your Majesty's portraits with great ceremony, saying they would wear no other bonds or chains than those your Majesty put upon them.[2] They are very grateful for the arms and munitions, etc., and I, for my own part, humbly supplicate your Majesty to bear in mind the great importance of this business, for with 6,000 men you may carry through an enterprise which will bridle English insolence in Flanders, and secure Spain and the Indies from molestation. . . . I remain here according to orders, anxiously hoping to do good service to the Church and your Majesty.

(5) Report of the Spanish Council of State to Philip III. on Ireland (13 July, 1600). [*Cal. S.P. Spanish*, pp. 665–6.]

The Council have considered your Majesty's reply to the report herewith, and Don Juan D'Idiaquez has explained that his reasons for thinking that it would be well to undertake the Irish enterprise this year are as follows :—

Your Majesty would gain enormously in prestige by conquering a kingdom thus unexpectedly.

The bridle which the possession of Ireland by your Majesty would put upon England and the northern powers, would enable you to divert them from all other points of attack, and prevent them from molesting Spain, the Indies, etc. It would also enable you to make good terms of peace and recover the Flemish fortresses held by the English for the rebels.

In case of the Queen's death, your Majesty, as master of Ireland, would be in a greatly improved position to nominate a successor to the English Crown.

The rest of the Council agree with Don Juan, but express doubts with regard to the financial possibility, the time, moreover, being so short, and they fear it will be impossible to send the expedition this year. They think it will be best to encourage the Irish, and keep them in hand, by sending them without delay the money, biscuits, etc., already agreed upon, and, in accordance with your Majesty's instructions, to endeavour to relieve their present distress at once. At the same time preparations should be made, both by land and sea, in Flanders and here, to be ready to execute what may be necessary for the future.

[1] This letter was written from the monastery of Donegal.

[2] "Most nations dislike Spain. The Irish love it. It is just, therefore, that they should be succoured."—Report of the Council of State to Philip III. *Cal. S.P. Spanish* (1587–1603) p. 674

(6) O'Sullivan Beare to Count Caracena[1] **(16 Feb., 1602).** [*Cal. S.P. Spanish,* pp. 704–5.]

[I] am rejoiced to learn that his Catholic Majesty welcomed so kindly the Earl O'Donnell.[2] The news your Lordship kindly sends consoles me somewhat in my troubles, and I am very anxious to serve you in all things, as you are so full of sympathy for my poor country. With all frankness, then, I will tell you the present state of warlike affairs here. All of us who took the part of the King are on the verge of ruin, in consequence of the agreement made by Don Juan Del Aquila with the Viceroy, unless some remedy be sent speedily by the King. By this agreement Don Juan not only surrendered Kinsale to the English, but all the forts and harbours held for his Majesty in the province of Munster; together with my own, which of my free unrestrained will I placed in the keeping of General Zubiaur for as long as it might be of service to his Majesty. If this place of mine be surrendered with the rest to the enemy, all of us who are faithful to his Majesty in the province of Munster will be lost, and the spirit of our people broken. I, by God's grace, can serve his Majesty anywhere with a thousand men, armed in our Irish fashion, and will muster them at my own cost from my twenty leagues of well protected coast. But once my castle, the chief stronghold of my land, is surrendered to the enemy, I shall be reduced to such straits, that my people will follow my castles, and the Queen of England will get both. . . .

As I see the great importance of the business, I have considered it necessary to trouble you with so long a letter, whereby I trust his Majesty may be led to send us succour and consolation.[3]

(7) The Death of O'Donnell. [Sir George Carew to the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst[4] (15 Oct., 1602). *Cal. Carew MSS.*, IV. 356.]

O'Donnell is certainly dead. The report is both brought and sent unto me from Lisbon by merchants of this town which I employed into Spain. I know they dare not deliver untruths unto me. The death of this traitor will much advance the Queen's service in Ireland; for the other Irish which live in Spain are not of the estimation which O'Donnell was of; and as I hear and believe, the King grows weary of the Irish which flock thither,

[1] Governor of Galicia.

[2] Hugh Roe O'Donnell fled to Spain after the great Irish defeat at Kinsale in 1601. See p. 180, *n.* 2.

[3] The author of this letter was Donall O'Sullivan Beare, chief of the O'Sullivans of Beare, Co. Cork. He held Dunboy Castle with a Spanish garrison against Sir George Carew, 1602. He was the uncle of Philip O'Sullivan Beare, author of the *Historiæ Catholicæ Iberniæ Compendium* (1621). See above, pp. 44, *n.* 6, 140, *n.* 2.

[4] Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset and Baron Buckhurst, Lord Treasurer of England (1599–1608).

and incessantly suing for recompense of their losses (as they allege) sustained in his Majesty's service, whom they and all the rebels in Ireland call their King and Master.[1]

XLVI. THE MUNSTER TOWNS AND THE WAR WITH TYRONE

(1) **Irish Merchants sell arms to the rebels.** [William Saxey, Chief Justice of Munster, to the Earl of Essex (9 Oct., 1599). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, p. 181.]

The inhabitants of the province[2] are grown into such hatred of the English Government, that no service can be done by any of her Majesty's forces, unless they be able to fight as well against the pretended subjects as the open rebels; for, in that action, against the English, either they shrink from her Majesty's forces, and are lookers on, or join with the rebel.

These mischiefs grow principally by the merchants of the port towns, for they with their moneys repair into England and other places, and bestow all they have, or can get upon credit, for swords, headpieces, muskets, powder and lead (no fit wares for merchants to deal in). And albeit the offence herein be very penal both in England and Ireland, yet the gain is so great, as the merchant, stopping the searcher's mouth, maketh treble gain by selling to subjects, and to the rebel, 6*d.* for a penny. For the reputed subjects of the country buy of the merchants, and sell to the rebels after these rates, viz. :—they have off the rebels six beeves for a sword, six beeves for a headpiece, six beeves for a caliver or musket, and one beef for a pound of powder, and so from time to time do furnish them, and by the pretended subject the Kingdom is put to sale.[3]

[Sir George Carew to the Privy Council (16 Dec., 1600). *Cal. S.P., Ireland*, pp. 65–6.]

In most of my letters from time to time I have advertised your Lordships of the stubborn and corrupt dealing of the magistrates

[1] Spain was not in any case in a position to afford further aid. "I find the estate of the country almost ruinated. The King young, riotous and extreme wanton; the Duke of Lerma, who ruleth all, neglecteth the government . . . the King's forces by land and sea discomforted and almost clean worn out. . . . Indeed, the King's revenues are mighty, and come daily well home, but the disorder in spending his treasure bringeth all to nothing." —"News from Lisbon" (23 Aug., 1602). *Cal. Car. MSS.*, IV. 312–13. See also Martin Hume's Preface to *Cal. S.P. Spanish* (1587–1603).

[2] "They (the Irish) did account that province (Munster) to be the key of the Kingdom, both by reason of the cities and walled towns (which are more than in all the island besides), the fruitfulness of the country, being reputed the garden of Ireland, and the commodious harbours, lying open both to France and Spain."—*Pacata Hibernia*, I. 2.

[3] English merchants also conducted a profitable trade in munitions with Ireland. Powder was sent from the maritime towns concealed in beer barrels.—*Cal. S.P.I.* (Mar.–Oct. 1600), p. 296.

and inhabitants in corporate towns, and how that, by their traitorly issuing of their commodities into the country, the rebellion hath been most nourished. For partly out of malice to the State for religion's cause, but especially for their own lucre (for that in turbulent times they receive the Queen's treasure expended amongst them, issue their merchandises to the rebels underhand at excessive rates, and buy the country commodities at their own prices), they desire nothing more than a continual war, enriching themselves more in one of those years than in seven others, as may appear by all outward shows in buildings and many other things, besides their known wealth.

(2) Disloyalty of Limerick. [The Earl of Thomond to Sir Robert Cecil (14 Jan., 1600). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, p. 402.]

Signifies the undutiful and ill carriage of the townsmen of Limerick.[1] They relieve the rebels by all the means they can, murder our soldiers, commit captains, and continually quarrel with lieutenants and other our officers. The Mayor pulls off the hats of lieutenants and gentlemen, and treads the same under his feet. The townsmen threaten to make an end of them all in one day. Our soldiers are committed to the Mayor's prison; he refuses to commit them either to her Majesty's gaol, or to the Provost Marshal; which is a course never seen in this land, that a martial man should be committed by any Mayor or town magistrate, but left to the martial court to receive their punishment. And if in time they be not looked unto, they will become as ill as Rochelle for disobedience.[2]

(3) Trade with Spain Restricted by the Government. [Proclamation by the Lord Deputy and Council (10 March, 1603). *Cal. Carew MSS.*, IV. 436–7.]

Whereas the usual trade of merchants within the port towns of this Kingdom into Spain and that King's dominions hath been the occasion to stir up and maintain the wars and troubles of this Realm, by reason that from hence the said merchants and masters of ships and mariners have, contrary to their duties, carried into Spain and the said King's dominions where they have traded not only letters and messages but priests and other seditious persons, who have been employed as messengers from the traitors of this Kingdom, to labour the reliefs and continuance of this rebellion; and at the return of the said merchants from thence, little regarding their obedience and duty due unto their natural Prince, they have forborne to make relation of any matter that might advance her Majesty's service, more than such as by compulsory means hath been wrested from them. For the avoiding of which enormities,

[1] See also *Cal. S.P.I.* (Mar.–Oct. 1600), pp. 12–14.
[2] La Rochelle, the stronghold of the Huguenots.

and yet that this trade with Spain and that King's dominions by the merchants aforesaid may be continued, by a choice to be made of such as shall be thought meetest for the same . . . therefore, we . . . straightly charge and command, in her Majesty's name, that no merchant nor merchants, master nor owner of any ship, bark, picard,[1] or other bottom whatsoever, nor mariner, nor other person nor persons whatsoever, not first thereunto licensed by the Lord Deputy . . . or by the Council authorised in his absence, or by the Lord President of Munster . . . or by the Chief Commissioner of Connacht . . . do or shall traffic, trade, or take his or their voyage from any port town, haven, or creek within this Realm into Spain.

XLVII. PROCLAMATION OF DON JUAN DEL AQUILA BEFORE KINSALE (1600)

[Thomas Stafford,[2] *Pacata Hibernia* (1633), II. xii. 200–2.]

Don Juan Del Aquila, general of the war, and the Catholic king of Spain's chief commander in God's war, which is made in Ireland for defence of the Faith. To all the Irish Catholics living in Kinsale, the city of Cork, and in all other villages, cities and castles, wisheth health in Him who is the true happiness. There is come unto our ears a proclamation made in the city of Cork,[3] in the name of the Deputy, which because it containeth many untruths . . . I am compelled to show their falsehood . . . and in few words to signify the pretence and intention of our most excellent King Philip in this war, which is with the Apostolic authority, to be administered by us. . . . First of all, ye feign that we would lead away the pretended subjects of the queen of England from their obedience, to bring them under our yoke, which is a very untruth ; for we endeavour not to persuade anybody, that he should deny due obedience (according to the word of God) to his prince : but ye know well that for many years since, Elizabeth was deprived of her Kingdom,[4] and all her subjects

[1] A large sailing boat.

[2] Stafford served as a captain under Sir George Carew when he was President of Munster ; he appears subsequently to have become his secretary. It was to Stafford that Carew bequeathed his vast collection of MSS. relating to Ireland, and among these was the original of the *Pacata Hibernia*, which was published by Stafford in 1633. A convenient edition of this book was published by Standish O'Grady in 1896 (2 vols.).

[3] "The Lord Deputy and Council, before the army marched from Cork, doubting . . . that the priests would leave no practices unattempted, that might animate or confirm the Irish in their rebellion, thought it necessary to give notice to the world how unjust the pretended causes were that the Irish had taken arms against their true anointed sovereign ; and also how unjustly the same was maintained by the Pope and the King of Spain, which by proclamation was divulged in the city of Cork."—*Pacata Hibernia* (ed. O'Grady), I. 294–5.

[4] A reference to the Bull of Pius V (1570), which released the subjects of Queen Elizabeth from their allegiance.

absolved from their fidelity by the Pope, unto whom He that reigneth in the heavens, the King of Kings, hath committed all power . . . that he may punish temporal kings (if it shall be good for the spiritual building) even to their deposing. . . . Therefore it remaineth that the Irish (which adhere to us) do work with us nothing that is against God's laws, or their due obedience, nay that which they do is according to God's word, and the obedience which they owe the Pope.

Secondly, ye affirm that we Spaniards go about to win the Irish with allurements, and feigned flatteries (which is a thing far from our nature), and that we do it but for a while; that after we have drawn the minds of simple men unto us, we might afterwards . . . show our bloody nature. Oh, the immortal God! who doth not wonder at your bitter and inexpressible cruelty, and your boldness showed in these words: for who is it that doth not know the great cruelty which you English have exercised, and cease not to exercise towards the miserable Irish: you I say go about to take from their souls the Catholic faith which their fathers held . . . truly you are far more cruel than bears or lions, which take away the temporal life, for you would deprive them of the eternal and spiritual life. Who is it that hath demolished all the temporalities of this most flourishing Kingdom except the English? [1] Look upon this and be ashamed: whereas on the other side, we, commiserating the condition of the Catholics here, have left our most sweet and happy country Spain, that is replenished with all good things; and being stirred with their cries, which pierce the heavens, having reached to the ears of the Pope, and our King Philip. They have (being moved with pity) at last resolved to send unto you soldiers, silver, gold and arms with a most liberal hand, not to the end they might (according as they feign) exercise cruelty towards you, O Irish Catholics, but that you may be happily reduced (being snatched out of the jaws of the devil, and free from their tyranny) unto your own pristine ingenuity, and that you may freely profess the Catholic faith. Therefore my most beloved, seeing that which you have so many years before desired and begged for, with prayers and tears; and that now, even now, the Pope, Christ's vicar on earth, doth command you to take arms for the defence of your Faith: I admonish, exhort, and beseech you all: all I say unto whom these letters shall come; that as soon as possibly you can, you come to us with your friends and weapons; whosoever shall do this shall find us prepared, and

[1] It was said in the sixteenth century that England kept Ireland poor "so as no other prince should enter into possession, the island being so suitable as a point from which England could be subjected, and they (the English) have no desire to civilize it, because they think that it might become more populous and powerful than this island."—Guerau de Spes to the King (15 Oct., 1570).—*Cal. S.P. Spanish* (1568–79), p. 281. See also Davies, *Discovery*, pp. 3–4.

we will communicate unto them, those things which we possess: and whosoever shall (despising our wholesome counsel) do otherwise, and remain in the obedience of the English, we will persecute him as an heretic, and a hateful enemy of the Church even unto death.[1]

XLVIII. SIEGE AND BATTLE OF KINSALE (1600–1)

(1) English Accounts. [Thomas Stafford, *Pacata Hibernia* (1633), II. xi. 197; xx. 231.]

Now are we come to the siege of Kinsale, a place ordained, wherein the honour and safety of Queen Elizabeth, the reputation of the English nation, the cause of religion, and the Crown of Ireland must be by arms disputed; for upon the success of this siege, these great and important consequences depended. And here the malice of Rome and Spain (if they had prevailed) would not have ceased, for their purpose did extend itself (Ireland having been conquered), to make it their bridge to have invaded England, the conquest and ruin whereof was the main mark whereat they aimed. . . . Tyrone . . . with the choice force, and, in effect, all the rebels of Ireland, being drawn into Munster, and joined with Spaniards that landed at Castlehaven, who brought to Tyrone's camp six ensigns of Spaniards, and the greatest part of the Irish of Munster . . . resolved to relieve the town of Kinsale, and to that purpose sat down, the one-and-twentieth of December, a mile and a half from the town, between the English camp and Cork, and on that side of the army, kept from them all passages and means for forage; the other side, over the River of Ownyboy, being wholly at their disposition, by reason of the general revolt of these parts. It seemed they were drawn so far by the importunity of Don Juan Del Aquila, as we perceived by some of his letters intercepted, wherein he did intimate his own necessity, their promise to succour him, and the facility of the enterprise. . . . During the abode of the rebels in that place, we had continual intelligence of their purpose to give alarms from their party, and sallies from the town, but to little other effect than to weary our men, by keeping them

[1] This document, which was written in Latin, would appear to have been drawn up by Matthew de Oviedo, who accompanied the expedition. See p. 33. In the Venetian ambassador's account of this undertaking, he says the King of Spain wishes "to plant foot in Ireland and to push on gradually; for the distance from Corunna to Ireland is not great, and the navigation in the open sea is easier than in the Straits of Dover, where the last Armada went. There are even greater objects, for the Queen is sixty-eight years old, and in the natural course of events, she cannot continue much longer her reign of already forty-three years, and, in the case of her death, this footing in Ireland would allow the King either to acquire the country or to assist the Catholics, and by supporting his own nominee among the pretenders to the Crown, he can render England dependent upon himself."—*Cal. S.P. Venetian* (1592–1603), pp. 477–8.

continually in arms, the weather being extremely tempestuous, cold, and wet.

[I.E., *A letter from a soldier of good place in Ireland, to his friend in London, touching the notable victory of her Majesty's forces there, against the Spaniards and Irish rebels* (1602), pp. 9–10.]

(The Irish at length planned an attack, the secret of which was betrayed to the English by Brian Oge MacMahon, Lord of Monaghan. Tyrone's onslaught was unsuccessful, and his forces were beaten back and defeated with great loss.)

Those of the battle were almost all slain, and there were (of the Irish rebels only) found dead in the place, about twelve hundred bodies, and about eight hundred were hurt, whereof many died that night; and the chase continuing almost two miles, was left off, our men being tired with killing. The enemy lost two thousand arms brought to reckoning, besides great numbers embezzled, all their powder, and drums, and eleven ensigns, whereof six Spanish. Those of the Irish that were taken prisoners, being brought to the camp, though they offered ransom, were all hanged. . . . And thus were they utterly overthrown, who but the very night before, were so brave and confident of their own good success, as that they reckoned us already theirs, and as we since have understood, were in contention whose prisoner the Lord Deputy should be, whose the Lord President, and so of the rest. The Earl of Clanrickarde carried himself this day very valiantly, and after the retreat sounded, was knighted by the Lord Deputy, in the field amongst the dead bodies. So did all the rest of the captains, officers and soldiers . . . and especially the Lord Deputy himself,[1] who brake, in person, upon the flower of the army [of] the Spaniards, and omitted no duty of a wise diligent conductor and valiant soldier. Upon the fight ended, he presently called together the army, and with prayers gave God thanks for the victory. A victory indeed given by the God of Hosts, and marvellous in our eyes, if all circumstances be duly considered, and of such consequence for the preservation and assurance to her Majesty, of this deeply endangered Kingdom, as I leave to wiser consideration.

(2) Account of the Irish Annalists. [*Four Masters* (ed. and tr. O'Donovan), VI. 2289–91.]

Manifest was the displeasure of God, and misfortune to the Irish . . . on this occasion; for, previous to this day, a small number of them had more frequently routed many hundreds of the English, than they had fled from them, in the field of battle, in the gap of danger (in every place they had encountered), up to this day. Immense and countless was the loss in that place, although the number slain was trifling, for the prowess and valour, prosperity and affluence, nobleness and chivalry, dignity and renown,

[1] Lord Mountjoy.

hospitality and generosity, bravery and protection, devotion and pure religion, of the Island, were lost in this engagement. The Irish forces returned that night with O'Neill and O'Donnell to Inishannon (Co. Cork). Alas ! the condition in which they were that night was not as they had expected to return from that expedition, for there prevailed much reproach on reproach, moaning and dejection, melancholy and anguish, in every quarter throughout the camp. They slept not soundly, and scarcely did they take any refreshment. When they met together their counsel was hasty, unsteady and precipitate, so that what they at length resolved upon was, that O'Neill . . . with sub-chieftains and the chiefs of Leath-Chuinn [1] in general, should return back to their countries, to defend their territories and lands against foreign tribes, [and] that O'Donnell [2] (and others) should go to Spain to complain of their distress and difficulties to the King of Spain.

XLIX. THE SUBMISSION OF THE EARL OF TYRONE (1603)

[Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary* (1617), II. iii. 278–81.][3]

The Lord Deputy being at Mellifont, and there having the aforesaid notice of the Queen's death,[4] and considering that this rumour was no good ground for a new treaty with Tyrone, yet breaking out, were it true or false, might cause new combustions in Ireland . . . resolved speedily to strike up the former treaty with Tyrone, and so presently dispatched a horseman to Sir William Godolphin . . . to require him to hasten Tyrone's coming . . . On the thirtieth of March 1603, they came altogether to Mellifont in the afternoon, where Tyrone, being admitted to the Lord Deputy's chamber, kneeled at the door humbly on his knees for a long space, making his penitent submission to her Majesty, and after being required to come nearer to the Lord Deputy, performed the same ceremony in all humbleness, the space of one hour or thereabouts.[5] The next day he also made a most humble submis-

[1] i.e. the northern half of Ireland.

[2] See p. 180 *n.* 2.

[3] Fynes Moryson, the well-known traveller, visited Ireland in the autumn of 1600, and became chief secretary to Mountjoy. His *Itinerary*, originally published in 1617, was re-issued by MacLehose & Sons of Glasgow in 1907–8 (4 vols.).

[4] Queen Elizabeth died 24 March, 1603.

[5] Thos. Gainsford, who served in the war against Tyrone in Ulster, gives the following account of his submission : " At the first entrance into the room, even at the threshold of the door, he prostrated himself grovelling to the earth, with such a dejected countenance, that the standers-by were amazed and my Lord Deputy himself had much ado to remember the work in hand . . . it was one of the deplorablest sights that ever I saw : and to look upon such a person, the author of so much trouble, and so formerly glorious, so dejected, would have wrought many changes in the stoutest heart, and did, no doubt, at this instant raise a certain commiseration in his greatest adversary. . . . Thus was Tyrone made the tennis-ball of fortune, and abandoned by Spain's over-prized greatness."—*The True Exemplary and Remarkable History of the Earl of Tyrone* (1619), pp. 37–41.

sion in writing . . . (which) was presented by the Earl of Tyrone kneeling on his knees, to the Lord Deputy and Council, and in the presence of a great assembly. . . . The third [day] of April, the Lord Deputy having the Earl of Tyrone in his company, rode to Tredagh,[1] and from thence upon the fourth day to Dublin.

The next day an English ship arrived in that haven, in which came Sir Henry Danvers, who brought with him letters from the lords in England, advertising the Queen's death, and that James I was proclaimed King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, the copy of which proclamation they sent, to the end it should here be published in like sort. . . .

According to the Lord Deputy's commandment, the Councillors of the State, the noblemen, knights, and chief commanders of the army . . . assembled together in the Castle, to whom his Lordship made known the Queen's death, and the King's proclamation, which he first, then all in course, signed, and presently taking horse, with joyful acclamations, published the same through the chief streets of Dublin. . . . The Earl of Tyrone upon the first hearing the Lord Deputy's relation of the Queen's death, could not contain himself from shedding of tears, in such quantity as it could not well be concealed, especially in him, upon whose face all men's eyes were cast: himself was content to insinuate that a tender sorrow for loss of his sovereign mistress, caused this passion in him. . . . There needed no Œdipus to find out the true cause of his tears, for no doubt, the most humble submission he made to the Queen he had so highly and proudly offended, much eclipsed the vainglory his actions might have carried, if he had held out till her death.

L. STATE OF THE COUNTRY AFTER THE CONQUEST

[Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary* (1617), II. iii. 271–2.]

Now because I have often made mention formerly of our destroying the rebels' corn, and using all means to famish them, let me by two or three examples show the miserable state to which the rebels were thereby brought. Sir Arthur Chichester, Sir Richard Moryson (and others) . . . saw a most horrible spectacle of three children . . . all eating and gnawing with their teeth the entrails of their dead mother. . . . Former mention hath been made in the Lord Deputy's letters, of carcases scattered in many places, all dead of famine. And no doubt the famine was so great, as the rebel soldiers taking all the common people had to feed on . . . the common sort of the rebels were driven to unspeakable extremities (beyond the record of most histories that ever I did read in that kind). . . .

[1] Drogheda.

Captain Trevor and many honest gentlemen living in the Newry can witness, that some old women of those parts, used to make a fire in the fields, and divers little children driving out the cattle in the cold mornings, and coming thither to warm them, were by them surprised, killed and eaten, which at last was discovered by a great girl breaking from them . . . and Captain Trevor sending out soldiers to know the truth, they found the children's skulls and bones, and apprehended the old women, who were executed for the fact. The captains of Carrickfergus, and the adjacent garrisons of the northern parts can witness, that upon the making of peace, and receiving the rebels to mercy, it was a common practice among the common sort of them . . . to thrust long needles into the horses of our English troops, and they dying thereupon, to be ready to tear out one another's throat for a share of them. And no spectacle was more frequent in the ditches of towns, and especially in wasted countries, than to see multitudes of these poor people dead with their mouths all coloured green by eating nettles, docks, and all things they could rend up above ground. These and very many like lamentable effects followed their rebellion, and no doubt the rebels had been utterly destroyed by famine, had not a general peace shortly followed Tyrone's submission . . . by which the rebels had liberty to seek relief among the subjects of Ireland, and to be transported into England and France, where great multitudes of them lived for some years after the peace made.[1]

LI. CHARLES BLOUNT, LORD MOUNTJOY[2]

[Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary* (1617), II, ii. 45–50.]

He was of stature tall, and of very comely proportion, his skin fair, with little hair on his body, which hair was of colour blackish (or inclining to black), and thin on his head, where he wore it short, except a lock under his left ear, which he nourished the time of this war, and being woven up, hid it in his neck under his ruff. The crown of his head was in his latter days something bald, as the forepart naturally curled . . . his forehead was broad and high; his eyes great, black and lovely; his nose something low and short, and a little blunt in the end; his chin round; his cheeks full, round, and ruddy; his countenance cheerful, and as amiable as ever I beheld of any man . . . his arms were long . . .

[1] See also *Cal. Car. MSS.*, IV. 287. O'Sullivan Beare wrote a similar account of the dreadful condition of Ireland after the wars. He describes how the wolves came out of the woods and mountains, and tore to pieces those who were too weak from famine to protect themselves.—*Historiæ Catholicæ Compendium*, III. viii. ch. 6. For the desolate state of Munster, see Sir George Carew to the Privy Council (25 Aug., 1600), *Cal. Carew MSS.*, III. 428.

[2] See p. 43 *n.* 3.

his hands long and white, his fingers great in the end, and his legs somewhat little. . . .

His apparel in Court and cities was commonly of white or black taffetas or satins, and he wore two (yea sometimes three) pairs of silk stockings, with black silk grogram [1] cloaks guarded,[2] and ruff of comely depth and thickness . . . black beaver hats, with plain black bands, a taffety quilted waistcoat in summer, a scarlet waistcoat, and sometimes both in winter. But in the country, and specially keeping the field in Ireland (yea, sometimes in the cities), he wore jerkins and round hose . . . with laced panes [3] of russet cloth, and cloaks of the same cloth lined with velvet, and white beaver hats with plain bands, and besides his ordinary stockings of silk, he wore under boots another pair of woollen or worsted, with a pair of high linen boot-hose, yea three waistcoats in cold weather, and a thick ruff, besides a russet scarf about his neck thrice folded under it. So as I never observed any of his age and strength to keep his body so warm. He was very comely in all his apparel, but the robes of St. George's Order, became him extraordinarily well.

For his diet, he used to fare plentifully, and of the best . . . he took tobacco abundantly, and of the best, which I think preserved him from sickness (especially in Ireland, where the foggy air of the bogs, and waterish soil, plenty of fish, and generally all meats with the common sort always unsalted and green roasted, do most prejudice the health). . . . He was very neat, loving cleanliness both in apparel and diet. . . . His behaviour was courtly, grave and exceedingly comely, especially in actions of solemn pomps. In his nature he loved private retiredness, with good fare and some few choice friends. He delighted in study, in gardens, an house richly furnished, and delectable for rooms of retreat, in riding on a pad [4] to take the air ; in playing at shovelboard,[5] or at cards, in reading playbooks for recreation, and especially in fishing and fishponds, seldom using any other exercises, and using these rightly as pastimes, only for a short and convenient time, and with great variety of change from one to the other. . . . His chief delight was in the study of Divinity, and more especially in reading of the Fathers and Schoolmen . . . and I will be bold to say, that of a layman, he was (in my judgment) the best divine I ever heard argue, especially for disputing against the Papists, out of the Fathers, Schoolmen, and above all out of the written Word (whereof some chapters were each night read to him, besides his never intermitted prayers at morning and night) insomuch as I

[1] A coarse silk fabric.
[2] Trimmed or ornamented.
[3] Joined pieces or strips.
[4] An easy-paced horse.
[5] A game in which a coin or other disc is driven by a blow with the hand along a highly polished board marked with transverse lines.

have often heard him, with strange felicity of memory and judgment, discover the Papist's false alleging of the Fathers, and texts, or additions, and omissions in them, and to urge arguments strongly, and (as much as beseemed him) scholarlike, as well in discourses with Jesuits and priests in Ireland . . . as upon divers occasions with other Papists his friends.[1] . . . He was sparing in speech; but when he was drawn to it, most judicious therein if not eloquent. He never used swearing, but rather hated it, which I have seen him often control at his table with a frowning brow, and an angry cast of his black eye; he was slow to anger, but once provoked, spake home. . . . He kept his word in public affairs inviolably, without which he could never have been trusted of the Irish. . . .

The hearts of the English common soldiers broken with a current of disastrous successes, he heartened and encouraged, by leading them warily, especially in his first actions, being more careful that our men should not be foiled, than that the rebels should be attempted with boldness. To this end also, and that he might be ever at hand, as well to encourage and direct them fighting, as to second them by any action dismayed, he bravely adventured his person, more than in the opinion of military wise men a general should ordinarily hazard himself.[2] . . . The wise distribution of the forces availed him much: for first he planted garrisons upon the chief rebels' countries, as likewise he compassed Tyrone on every side with them, which kept the rebels at home, so as they could not second one another for fear of losing their own goods. . . . Again, where other deputies used to assail the rebels only in summer time, this lord persecuted them most in the winter, being commonly five days at least in the week on horseback, all the winter long. This brake their hearts; for the air being sharp and they naked, and they being driven from their lodgings, into the woods bare of leaves, they had no shelter for themselves. Besides that, their cattle (giving them no milk in the winter) were also wasted by driving to and fro, and that they being thus troubled in the seed time, could not sow their ground. And as in harvest time, both the Deputy's forces, and the garrisons, cut down their corn, before it was ripe, so now in winter time, they carried away or burnt all the stores of victuals in secret places, whither the rebels had conveyed them. . . .

For protection and pardons (the easy obtaining whereof had formerly encouraged the rebels, as well to enter into rebellion

[1] Mountjoy was not a believer in religious persecution. On hearing that several persons had been "imprisoned for religion," including some of the Aldermen of Dublin, he wrote to Secretary Cecil that he was of opinion "that all religions do grow under persecution. It is truly good doctrine and example that must prevail."—*Cal. S.P.I.* (1601–3), p. 556.

[2] See the praise given to Mountjoy by a Captain.—*Cal. S.P.I.* (1600–1), p. 169.

as to break their faith after submissions, in hope to be again received to mercy) [1] although it was necessary for the State in this general rebellion, like a mother, to open her bosom to her children, lest being driven to despair, they should plunge themselves into all mischiefs, yet he never received any to mercy, but such as had so drawn blood on their fellow rebels, and were themselves made so poor, as there was small danger of their relapse. To which end he forbade all conferences and parleys with the rebels, by pretence whereof many treacherous plots had formerly been drawn by the false-hearted subjects, and many corruptions had been practised of some covetous commanders. But to such as were received to mercy (that he might take away the diffidence they had long conceived of the State), he kept his word inviolable. . . .

[II. iii. 296–7.]

This most worthy lord, cured Ireland from the most desperate estate in which it ever had been, and brought it to the most absolute subjection in which it had ever been since the first conquest thereof by our nation. Yet he left this great work unperfect, and subject to relapse except his successors should finish the building, whose foundation he had laid, and should polish the stones which he had only roughly hewed.

And because he knew this relapse would be most dangerous, having observed every rebellion in Ireland to be more dangerous than the former, and that none could be more dangerous than this last, without the loss of the Kingdom, therefore he was most careful to prevent all future mischiefs. To which end, whatsoever effects his designs had, sure I am that he did meditate these wholesome projects: First to establish garrisons in the cities of Munster, and in the renewing of their forfeited charters, to cut off many exorbitant privileges granted to their first English progenitors, from whom they were so degenerated, as the very speaking of English, was by them forbidden to their wives and children. Then by the exchanging of lands, and by the disposing of the new grants of lands to be made to the Irish, to draw them all to inhabit the inland country, and to plant the English upon the havens, sea coasts and rivers. Lastly, because he knew all endeavours would be in vain, if civil magistrates should think by fair means without the sword to reduce the Irish to due obedience (they having been conquered by the sword, and that maxim being infallible that all kingdoms must be preserved by the same means by which they were first gained, especially with the Irish by their nature pliable to a hard hand, and jadish when upon the least pricking of provender the bridle is let loose unto them), therefore his lordship purposed to persuade, that

[1] See Barnaby Rich, "Of Pardons and Protections how hurtful in Ireland."—*A New Description of Ireland* (1610), ch. 24.

the army should stand in some convenient strength, till the King's revenues were increased and established (so as Ireland might be a nursery to maintain some convenient number of old soldiers, without any charge to England) and till the reformation of religion and due obedience to the magistrate were at least in some good measure settled in Ireland, and especially in the foresaid cities.

LII. THE FLIGHT OF THE EARLS

(1) English Official Account. [Sir John Davies to Salisbury (12 Sept., 1607). *Cal. S.P. Ireland,* pp. 270–4.]

It is true that they are embarked and gone with the most part of that company of men, women and children, who are named in the proclamation : [1] it is true they took shipping the 14th of this present September ; that the Saturday before the Earl of Tyrone was with my Lord Deputy at Slane . . . that from thence he went to Mellifont, Sir Garret Moore's [2] house, where he wept abundantly when he took his leave, giving a solemn farewell to every child and every servant in the house, which made them all marvel, because it was not his manner to use such compliments. From thence, on Sunday, he went to Dundalk ; on Monday he went to Dungannon, where he rested two whole days ; on Wednesday night, they say, he travelled all night with his impediments, that is, his women and children ; and it is likewise reported that the Countess, his wife, being exceedingly weary, slipped down from her horse, and, weeping, said she could go no farther ; whereupon the Earl drew his sword, and swore a great oath that he would kill her in the place, if she would not pass on with him, and put on a more cheerful countenance withal. Yet, the next day, when he came near Lough Foyle, his passage that way was not so secret but the Governor there had notice thereof, and invited him and his son to dinner ; but their haste was such that they accepted not that courtesy, but they went on, and came that Thursday night to Rathmullan, a town on the west side of Lough Swilly, where the Earl of Tyrconnel and his company met him. . . .

It is certain that Tyrone, in his heart, repines at the English government in his country, where, until his last submission, as well before his rebellion as in the time of his rebellion, he ever lived like a free prince, or rather like an absolute tyrant there. But now the law of England, and the ministers thereof, were shackles and handlocks unto him, and the garrisons planted in his country were as pricks in his side ; besides, to evict any part of that land from him, which he has hitherto held after the Irish manner,

[1] *Cal. S.P.I.* (1606–8), p. 263.
[2] Commissioner for arranging matters with Tyrone, 1594, 1596 and 1598.

making all the tenants thereof his villeins . . . this was as grievous unto him as to pinch away the quick flesh from his body. Those things, doubtless, have bred discontentment in him ; and now his age and his burdened conscience . . . have of late much increased his melancholy, so that he was grown very pensive and passionate ; and the friars and priests perceiving it, have wrought nightly upon his passion. Therefore it may be he has hearkened unto some project of treason, which he fears is discovered, and that fear has transported [him] into Spain. . . . As for them that are here, they are glad to see the day wherein the countenance and majesty of the law and civil government hath banished Tyrone out of Ireland, which the best army in Europe and the expense of two millions of sterling pounds did not bring to pass. And they hope His Majesty's happy government will work a greater miracle in this Kingdom than ever St. Patrick did, for St. Patrick only banished the poisonous worms, but suffered the men full of poison to inhabit the land still ; but His Majesty's blessed genius will banish all those generations of vipers out of it, and make it, ere it be long, a right fortunate island.[1]

(2) Lament of the Irish Annalists. [*Four Masters* (ed. and tr. O'Donovan), VI. 2353–9.]

Maguire (Cú Chonnacht) and Donough, the son of Mahon, son of the Bishop O'Brien, brought a ship with them to Ireland, and put in at the harbour of Swilly. They took with them from Ireland[2] the Earl O'Neill (Hugh, the son of Ferdorcha), and the Earl O'Donnell, Rory, the son of Hugh, son of Manus), with a great number of the chieftains of the province of Ulster. These were they who went with O'Neill, namely, the Countess Catherina, the daughter of Magennis, and her three sons, Hugh the Baron, John, and Brian ; Art Oge, the son of Cormac, son of the Baron ; Ferdorcha, son of Con, son of O'Neill ; Hugh Oge, the son of Brian, son of Art O'Neill ; and many others of his faithful friends. These were they who went with the Earl O'Donnell : Caffar, his brother, and his sister Nuala ; Hugh, the Earl's son, wanting three weeks of being one year old ; Rose, the daughter of O'Doherty, and wife of Caffar, with her son, Hugh, aged two years and three months ; the son of his brother, Donnell Oge, the son of Donnell ; Naghtan, the son of Calvagh, son of Donough

[1] Other letters of Sir John Davies throw further light on the causes of Tyrone's discontent. See, for example, that to Salisbury (1 July, 1607), *Cal. S.P.I.*, p. 209. See also a letter of Sir Thomas Philips to Salisbury (19 May, 1605), in which he states that the small tenants were welcoming the support of English law against the claims of their lords.—*Cal. S.P.I.*, p. 275.

[2] For another list of those who accompanied the Earls, see *Cal. S.P.I.* (1606–8), pp. 435–6.

Cairbreach O'Donnell; together with many others of his faithful friends. They entered the ship on the festival of the Holy Cross, in autumn.

This was a distinguished crew for one ship; for it is indeed certain that the sea had not supported, and the winds had not wafted from Ireland, in modern times, a party of one ship who would have been more illustrious or noble in point of genealogy, or more renowned for deeds, valour, prowess, or high achievements, than they, if God had permitted them to remain in their patrimonies until their children should have reached the age of manhood. Woe to the heart that meditated, woe to the mind that conceived, woe to the council that decided on, the project of their setting out on this voyage, without knowing whether they should ever return to their native principalities or patrimonies to the end of the World.[1]

LIII. THE EARLS ON THE CONTINENT

[Tadhg Ó Cianáin,[2] "The Flight of the Earls" (1608), ed. and tr. from the Irish by the Rev. Paul Walsh, and pr. as an appendix to the *Archivium Hibernicum* (Cath. Record Soc. of Ireland), 1916. V.]

About the middle of the same night they hoisted their sails. . . . They went out a great distance in the sea. The night was bright, quiet and calm, with a breeze from the south-west. . . . An exceeding great storm and very bad weather arose against them, together with fog and rain, so that they were driven from proximity to land. . . . Afterwards, leaving Tyrconnel on the left, they direct their course past the harbour of Sligo, straight ahead until they were opposite Croagh Patrick in Connacht. Then they feared that the King's fleet, which was in the harbour of Galway, would meet with them. They proceeded out into the sea to make for Spain straight forward if they could. After that they were on the sea for thirteen days with excessive storm and dangerous bad weather. A cross of gold which O'Neill had, and which contained a portion of the Cross of the Crucifixion and many other relics, being put by them in the sea trailing after the ship, gave them great relief.

On Sunday, the thirtieth of September, the wind came right straight against the ship. The sailors, since they could not go to Spain, undertook to reach the harbour of Le Croisic in Brittany at the end of two days and nights. The lords who were in the ship, in consequence of the smallness of their food supply, and also

[1] See an Irish poem on the Flight of the Earls, pp. 342–3.

[2] Tadhg Ó Cianáin was a chronicler of the Maguires. He accompanied the chiefs, and so is an eye-witness of what he describes. His account should be compared with those of British ambassadors and agents abroad, which are published as an appendix to the *Cal. S.P.I.* (1606–8).

because of all the hardship and sickness of the sea they had received up to that, gave it as their advice that it was right for them to make straight ahead towards France.[1] . . .

On the next day, the fifteenth of October, they left Rouen with thirty-one on horseback, two coaches, three wagons, and about forty on foot. The Governor of Quilleboeuf and many of the gentry of the town came to conduct them a distance from the city. . . .

On Monday, the twenty-second of the same month, they bade farewell to the people of the city (Arras). They proceeded five more leagues to a famous city called Douai. The people there received them with great respect. They alighted at the Irish College,[2] which was supported by the King of Spain in the town. They themselves stayed in the College, and they sent the better part of those with them through the city. They remained there until the following Friday. . . . Assemblies of the colleges received them kindly and with respect, delivering in their honour verses and speeches in Latin, Greek and English. . . .

The thirty-first of October, O'Neill's son (Henry), the Colonel of the Irish [regiment] [3] came to them with a large well-equipped company of captains and of noblemen, Spanish and Irish and of every other nation. On the following Saturday the Marquis Spinola, the commander-in-chief of the King of Spain's army in Flanders, came to them from Brussels with a large number of important people and welcomed them. He received them with honour and gave them an invitation to dinner on the next day in Brussels. . . .

Early the next morning they went to Brussels. . . . Colonel Francisco, with many Spanish, Italian, Irish and Flemish captains, came out of the city to meet them. They advanced through the principal streets of the town to the door of the Marquis's palace. The Marquis himself, the Papal Nuncio, the Spanish Ambassador, and the Duke of Ossuna came to take them from their coaches. . . . Afterwards they entered the apartment where the Marquis was accustomed to take food. He himself arranged each one in his place, seating O'Neill in his own place at the head of the table, the Papal Nuncio to his right, the Earl of Tyrconnel to his left, O'Neill's children and Maguire next the Earl, and the Spanish Ambassador and the Duke of Aumale on the other side, below the Nuncio. . . . The excellent dinner which they partook of was grand and costly enough for a king.[4] . . .

[1] They landed in Normandy and proceeded to Rouen; passing through Amiens and other French towns they entered Flanders, and were everywhere received with respect.

[2] See p. 346 *n.* 3.

[3] This Irish regiment formed part of the army of the Archduke Albert of Austria, governor of the Spanish Netherlands.

[4] The Earls spent Christmas at Louvain, where they remained till the 28th Feb., 1608. Their progress through Germany and Switzerland is next described. They had a stiff ride over the Alps, and they and their horses crossed Lake Lugano in boats.

On Sunday, the twenty-third March, they proceeded to the great remarkable famous city Milan. . . . A great respected earl, Count de Fuentes by name, was chief governor and representative of the King of Spain over that city and over all Lombardy. He sent the King's ambassador at Lucerne, who happened to be in the city, to welcome them and to receive them with honour. On Wednesday the nobles went in person into the presence of the earl. He received them with honour and respect. There were many noblemen and a very great guard on either side of him. They remained three full weeks in the city. During that time the earl had great honour shown them. . . . The lords took their leave of Count de Fuentes on the twelfth of April. . . . He gave them as a token of remembrance a collection of rapiers and fine daggers, with hilts of ornamented precious stones, all gilt, and belts and expensive hangers.[1] . . .

Peter Lombard, the Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, came . . . having a large number of coaches sent by cardinals to meet them to that place. . . . Then they proceeded in coaches (and) went on . . . through the principal streets of Rome in great splendour. They did not rest until they reached the great church of San Pietro in Vaticano. They put up their horses there and entered the church . . . afterwards they proceeded to a splendid palace which his Holiness the Pope had set apart for them in the Borgo Vecchio [and in the Borgo] Santo Spirito.[2] . . .

: . . On the Thursday of Corpus Christi an order came from the holy Father to the princes that eight of their noblemen should go in person to carry the canopy over the Blessed Sacrament while it was being borne solemnly in the hands of the Pope in procession from the great Church of San Pietro in Vaticano to the Church of St. James in Borgo Vecchio and from there back to the Church of Saint Peter. . . They carried the canopy over the Blessed Sacrament and the Pope, and never before did Irishmen receive such an honour and privilege. The Italians were greatly surprised that they should be shown such deference and respect, for some of them said that seldom before was any one nation in the world appointed to carry the canopy. With the ambassadors of all the Catholic kings and princes of Christendom who happened to be then in the city it was an established custom that they, in succession, every year carried the canopy in turn. They were

[1] At Parma, the Duke received them with honour; they passed through Bologna, Rimini, Pesaro, and made a pilgrimage to Assisi and to several other places. On Tuesday, the 29th April, 1608, Peter Lombard, Papal Archbishop of Armagh, met them at the Milvian Bridge, and they entered Rome in state.

[2] On the 4th May, 1608, they were received by Pope Paul V at the Quirinal. They took an active part in the religious life of Rome, and were present, as related above, at the great Corpus Christi procession on the 5th June.

jealous, envious and surprised, that they were not allowed to carry it on this particular day. The procession was reverent, imposing and beautiful, for the greater part of the regular Orders and all the clergy and communities of the great churches of Rome were in it, and many princes, dukes and great lords. They had no less than a thousand lighted waxen torches. Following them there were twenty-six archbishops and bishops. Next there were thirty-six cardinals. The Pope carried the Blessed Sacrament, and the Irish lords and noblemen to the number of eight, bore the canopy. About the Pope was his guard of Swiss soldiers, and on either side of him and behind him were his two large troops of cavalry. The streets were filled with people behind. It was considered by all that there were not less in number than one hundred thousand.[1]

LIV. A GENERAL PARDON

[The Act of Oblivion, 1603. Sir John Davies, *A Discovery of the True Causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued* (1612), pp. 263–4.]

By a general Act of State called the Act of Oblivion [2] published by proclamation under the Great Seal, all offences against the Crown, and all particular trespasses between subject and subject, done at any time before his Majesty's reign, were (to all such as would come in to the Justices of Assize by a certain day, and claim the benefit of this Act) pardoned, remitted, and utterly extinguished, never to be revived or called in question. And by the same proclamation, all the Irishry (who for the most part in former times, were left under the tyranny of their lords and chieftains and had no defence or justice from the Crown) were received into his Majesty's immediate protection. This bred such comfort and security in the hearts of all men, as thereupon ensued, the calmest and most universal peace, that ever was seen in Ireland.

LV. INTRODUCTION OF ENGLISH LAW

[Proclamation of Sir Arthur Chichester (11 March, 1605). M. J. Bonn, *Die englische Kolonisation in Irland*, I. 394–7.]

Whereas divers . . . lords and owners of countries or territories, are possessed of great scopes and extents of land, wherein the tenants and occupiers have no certain estate, nor certain place of habitation, nor yield any other rent or reservation for the same, but an uncertain cutting or exaction which the said lords and

[1] Rory O'Donnell, created Earl of Tyrconnel in 1603, died of fever at Rome, 28 July, 1608. Tyrone died there eight years later.

[2] Steele gives 22nd Feb., 1603, as the date of this Proclamation.—*Tudor and Stuart Proclamns. II.* 167A. The document has not been found, but is referred to elsewhere. See *e.g. Cal. S.P.I.* (1603–6), p. 2.

owners do at their will and pleasure impose upon them, whereby it cometh to pass that the said tenants do neither build houses nor manure the earth, nor provide for their children or posterities in such sort as they would do if they might enjoy their said lands during a certain term, and for certain duties payable for the same. We do therefore in his Majesty's name, straightly charge and command all and every the said lords and owners, that they and every of them do forthwith so dispose of their said lands, as they may receive certain rents and certain duties for the same, and that they and every of them do from henceforth utterly forbear to use or usurp upon any of their tenants or dependents those odious and unlawful customs of cutting and coshering : [1] which customs we will and command to be discontinued and abolished for ever in this Kingdom, as being barbarous, unreasonable, and intolerable in any civil or Christian commonwealth. . . . And we do further charge and command the said lords . . . that they attempt not from henceforth . . . violently to remove or lead away the said tenants or inhabitants, or any of them, or their or any of their goods, against their wills or consent, from one country or place unto another, or to use or entreat the said tenants or inhabitants otherwise than freemen or loyal subjects . . and to the end the said poor tenants and inhabitants, and every of them, may from henceforth know and understand that free estate and condition wherein they were born, and wherein from henceforth they shall all be continued and maintained, we do by this present proclamation in his Majesty's name declare and publish, that they and every of them, their wives and children, are the free, natural, and immediate subjects of his Majesty, and are not to be reputed or called the natives or natural followers of any other lord or chieftain whatsoever, and that they and every of them ought to depend wholly and immediately upon his Majesty, who is both able and willing to protect them, and not upon any other inferior lord or lords. . . . Howbeit we do in his Majesty's name declare and publish unto all and every the said tenants or other inferior subjects, that it is not his Majesty's intent or meaning, to protect or maintain them, or any of them, in any misdemeanour or insolent carriage towards their lords, but that it is his Majesty's express pleasure and commandment, that the said tenants and meaner sort of subjects (saving their faith and duty of allegiance to his Majesty) shall yield and perform all such respects and duties as belong and appertain unto the said lords, according to their several degrees and callings, due and allowed unto them by the laws of this Realm.

And we do further declare and publish unto all his Majesty's loving subjects, that (notwithstanding this gracious proclamation) his Majesty will no longer continue his protection over them or

[1] See pp. 318, 329.

any of them, than they and every of them shall continue in their loyalty and obedience, and depend wholly upon his Majesty and his laws, from which if they or any of them shall hereafter make any defection, his Majesty is fully resolved to extend the uttermost rigour of his laws against them, without any pardon or remission, and to prosecute them and every of them by all ways and means possible, to the utter extirping and rooting out of them, their names and generations, for ever. And lastly, we do will and require such and so many of his Majesty's poor and inferior sort of subjects, as shall from time to time be grieved or burdened with any oppression, exaction, or other insolence of any of the said great lords or gentlemen . . . that they eftsoons make their complaint either to the Justices of Assize being present in their several circuits, or in their absence to the Governor of the country or sheriff of the county wherein they dwell. And thereupon we will and command every governor or sheriff within each particular country and county to examine such wrongs and injuries so complained of, and the circumstances thereof, and the same forthwith to certify either to the Justices of Assize when they shall come in their circuits, or unto us the Lord Deputy and Council, to the end redress may be given to the parties grieved, and punishment inflicted upon the offenders.[1]

LVI. FEROCITY OF THE IRISH WARS

(1) Defeat of the Scots by Sir Richard Bingham[2] in Connacht. [Captain Thomas Woodhouse to Geoffrey Fenton[3] (23 Sept., 1586). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, p. 161.]

It pleased God that the Governor this day met with James MacDonnell's sons and all their forces, and with the number of about four score horsemen, he, like a brave gentleman, charged them. I was as near him as I could, and so cut off their wings, and they presently were like cowardly beggars, being in number,

[1] "The common people [are] more ready to embrace justice than the lords, whose pride is great, and do impatiently bear and hardly digest the English Government no further than force and heavy hand constraineth."—Sir W. Drury, President of Munster, to Walsingham (24 Nov., 1576), *Cal. S.P.I.*, p. xxxiv. "These civil assemblies at assizes and sessions have reclaimed the Irish from their wildness, caused them to cut off their glibs and long hair; to convert their mantles into cloaks, to conform themselves to the manner of England in all their behaviour and outward forms; and because they find a great inconvenience in moving their suits by an interpreter, they do for the most part send their children to schools, especially to learn the English language: so as we may conceive an hope that the next generation, will in tongue and heart, and every way else become English; so as there will be no difference or distinction, but the Irish Sea betwixt us."—Davies, *Discovery*, pp. 271–2.

[2] In 1584, Bingham, who had seen plenty of service both on the Continent and in Ireland, was appointed Governor of Connacht. The Burkes, who were in rebellion, summoned a large force of Scots from the Isles to their aid. Another account of their defeat will be found in Sir Henry Docwra's "Relation of [Sir R. Bingham's] Service done in Ireland," *Misc. Celtic Soc.* (1849).

[3] Principal Secretary of State in Ireland.

as we did judge, about 1,300 in that place, hard by their camp, William Burke's town, called Ardnaree. About one of the clock we did join battle, and they did set their backs to the great river called the Moy, and the Governor and we that were but a small number did with him, who I protest in God like as brave a man, charge them before our battle came in (*sic*), and kept a narrow strait in our charging of them, so as they could not pass our foot battle, and there, God be thanked, we did drown and kill, as we all did judge, about the number of a thousand or eleven hundred, for there did, by swimming, about a hundred escape, and as the country saith on the other side the water, they have killed them, for we cannot this day get over this water into Tirawley to them for want of boats, but truly I was, never since I was a man of war, so weary with killing of men, for I protest to God, for as fast as I could I did but hough them and paunch them, sometimes on horseback, because they did run as we did break them, and sometimes on foot, and so in less space than an hour this whole and good field was done.

(2) O'Donnell attacks the English of Connacht. [Philip O'Sullivan Beare, *Historiæ Catholicæ Iberniæ Compendium* (1621), III. ii. ch. 11.][1]

[1595] O'Donnell, remembering the cruelty with which the English had thrown women, old men and children from the Bridge of Enniskillen, with all his forces invaded Connacht, which Richard Bingham was holding oppressed under heretical tyranny. In his raids extending far and wide he destroyed the English colonists and settlers, put them to flight, and slew them, sparing no male between fifteen and sixty years old who was unable to speak Irish.

He burnt the village of Longford in Annaly, which Browne an English heretic had taken from O'Farrell. He then returned to Tyrconnel laden with the spoils of the Protestants. After this invasion of Connacht, not a single farmer, settler or Englishman remained, except those who were defended by the walls of castles and fortified towns, for those who had not been destroyed by fire and sword, despoiled of their goods, left for England, heaping curses upon those who had brought them into Ireland.

(3) Massacre of Munster Settlers, 1598. [Information of William Saxey, Chief Justice of Munster, to Sir Robert Cecil concerning the state of that Province (26 Oct., 1598). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, p. 300.]

About the 5th Oct., some 3,000 rebels came into the county of Limerick, sent from the archtraitor Tyrone, under the leading of John FitzThomas . . . elder brother to the last attainted Earl

[1] See p. 140 n. 2.

of Desmond . . . and burnt and spoiled most of the towns and villages there. . . . These combinations and revolts have effected many execrable murders and cruelties upon the English, as well in the county of Limerick, as in the counties of Cork and Kerry, and elsewhere; infants taken from the nurses' breasts, and the brains dashed against the walls; the heart plucked out of the body of the husband in the view of the wife, who was forced to yield the use of her apron to wipe off the blood from the murderer's fingers; [an] English gentleman at midday in a town cruelly murdered, and his head cleft in divers pieces; divers sent into Youghal amongst the English, some with their throats cut, but not killed, some with their tongues cut out of their heads, others with their noses cut off; by view whereof the English might the more bitterly lament the misery of their countrymen, and fear the like to befall to themselves.[1]

LVII. DISCONTENT AMONG THE ENGLISH TROOPS

(1) Poverty of English Soldiers. [The Lords Justices, Adam Loftus[2] and Sir Robert Gardener, and the Council, to the Privy Council in England (23 Nov., 1598). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, p. 357.]

It grieveth us not a little to see the nakedness of the soldiers for want of clothes, and their poverty for lack of their lendings, to buy them food; both which wants not only maketh many of them show like prisoners, half starved for want of cherishing, but also it dejecteth of them greatly in heart, insomuch as we look daily for some great mutiny and disbanding; having hitherunto contained them as much as we could, partly with promise of money at the arriving of the next treasure, having borrowed in the meanwhile almost £4,000, which we have done by giving our joint bonds, by lending our own money, and by laying our plate to pawn for the same; and partly with some relief of victuals out of the country, though not without grudge and murmur of the people, who are mightily overpressed with these heavy burdens of the army.

(2) Abuses in the Army. [Sir John Dowdall[3] to Secretary Cecil (2 Jan., 1599). *Cal. Carew MSS.*, III. 353–4.]

Why are the forces so weak and poor? One cause is the electing of captains rather by favour than desert, for many are

[1] Notable instances of the savagery of the Irish wars during the sixteenth century are the massacre of Scots at Rathlin Island (1575), by Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, and the massacre of the O'Mores at Mullamast (1577), for which Francis Cosby, Governor of Leix, was perhaps responsible. See *Cal. Car. MSS.*, II. 16–17, and p. 236; also O'Sullivan Beare, *Hist. Cath.*, II. iv. ch. 6.

[2] Archbishop of Dublin.

[3] Sir John Dowdall in 1599 was commanding 100 foot in Munster.—Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary*, II., 254.

inclined to dicing, wenching, and the like, and do not regard the wants of their soldiers. . . . Many of the captains and gentlemen are worthy men, but most of them are fitter for the wars of the Low Countries and Brittany, where they were quartered upon good villages, than here, on waste towns, bog, or wood, after long marches. Some captains have by their purse and credit held their companies strong, but have neither been repaid nor rewarded, and have fallen into great poverty. Other captains, therefore, rather than spare a penny, will suffer their soldiers to starve, as is daily seen in this Kingdom. Another reason is, that supplies come so short, and so long after they are due, verifying the old proverb, "Whiles the grass grows the horse starves." The victuals are many times corrupted, as is thought, by the provant-masters,[1] that go to the heap for cheap. And so with the purveyors of the apparel—often a suit valued at 40*s.* proves not worth half, yet is the soldier constrained to take it, some six or nine months after it is due, at the charge of the captain for transporting from place to place. Most part of the army, therefore, seem beggarly ghosts, fitter for their graves than to fight a prince's battle. The report hereof so works in men's minds that they had as lief go to the gallows as to the Irish wars.

LVIII. DISORDERS OF THE SOLDIERY

(1) General Accounts. [William Lyon, Bishop of Ross, to the Lords Justices, touching the present state of Munster (9 Oct., 1582). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, pp. civ.–cv.]

. . . Moreover for the disorder of the soldiers amongst the people which breedeth great hatred to our nation, and not without cause. This I can report of myself, for the time that I lay in Cork, being there a commissioner as unworthy for the Province, the soldiers that lie there . . . have horse boys, which go out into the country for the compass of three or four miles, and fetch in horseloads of corn of the poor people day by day, they having no other sustenance to relieve them and their families, than their little corn, about which they have taken great pains and travail, and if they come to rescue it from the horse boys, they fall upon them and beat them, and cut them in the heads, most lamentable to see. Then come they and complain to the Mayor of the city, and show him their hurts. His answer is this, "You must have patience, for I cannot remedy it," and it is true indeed, for they esteem no more of the Mayor than a man will do of his horse boy, and their words are these to the Mayor, and the best of the town, "Ye are but beggars, rascals, and traitors, and I am a soldier

[1] The officers in charge of the commissariat.

and a gentleman." And also I have seen the poor people come with their heads cut before Sir Warham St. Leger, knight,[1] and myself, complaining of their grief, but the soldiers have conveyed themselves and their boys out of the way, for they are lawless, and I think in conscience (speaking it with grief of heart) amongst the heathen there is no such wicked soldiers.

[Observation by Sir William Herbert, Vice-President of Munster (24 May, 1589). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, p. 191.]

The order of cessing of soldiers, and of their taking of meat and drink and money, none can rightly conceive, but they that have seen it; how implacable they are, how raging, how ravening, what extreme abuses they will offer, I would never have believed if I had not both seen and heard their disorder. If 50 of them come to a poor gentleman or a freeholder's house, he and his tenants, though they stay but one night, shall be £5 the worse in meat, drink, and money, besides much vexation.

(2) Disciplinary Order. [Orders to be observed in the English Pale against the abuses and extortions of the soldiers, made by Sir William Russell, Lord Deputy, and the Council at the Castle of Dublin (18 April, 1596). *Cal. Carew MSS.*, III. 174–5.]

All soldiers shall, in their travel through the country, march above 10 miles by the day, and not lie above one night in one place, each taking of his host meat and drink, without exacting money or committing any other extortion, upon pain of death, but paying ready money or giving his captain's or officer's ticket after the rate of 5*d.* sterling *per diem*.

No two soldiers shall have above one boy attending upon them. . . . The soldiers shall not at their will (as heretofore they have done) be their own carvers in killing of the subjects' lambs, hens, geese, and such like, or in demanding of wine and *aqua vitæ* (whisky) to their meat, but shall take such competent meat and drink as the country is able to afford, without beating or abusing the poor people, or committing of other disorders in taking money or distresses for the same.

Neither the soldiers nor their captains shall take up the subjects' garrons[2] for their carriage . . . without special warrant from us, and in such cases to pay for hire of the garrons according to her Majesty's usual rates. . . .

Soldiers shall not range up and down the country or depart from their garrisons without special licence, which obtained, they are to pay for anything they take in the country to the owner's contentment. . . .

[1] Provost Marshal of Munster, 1579–89. [2] See p. 150 *n.* 1.

The soldiers in marching through the country shall be placed by the mayor, sheriff, port-reeve, sovereign, bailiff, collector, high constable, or the gentleman adjoining, according to the ability of the poor people; and the captains and soldiers are not to please themselves as heretofore, whereby many poor people were utterly undone and driven to forsake their dwellings.

Pain of death for ravishing any woman against her will, and for taking any moveable goods.

LIX. CLOTHING, RATIONS AND WAGES FOR THE SOLDIERS

(1) Inadequate Equipment. [Captain Francis Stafford to Sir Robert Cecil (11 Oct., 1598). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, p. 286.]

Has according to his directions, received the 800 soldiers at Chester, as may more plainly appear by the muster-rolls. . . . The wants of the men's apparel are such that, if they be not speedily relieved, many will march without shoes or stockings. "For I protest there was small care in setting of them forth; and for [the] Buckinghamshire men, they are both the worst men and worst apparelled of all the 800. Some of the Londoners, and many of the rest, ill-apparelled, and all London cassocks made of northern cloth, which by wet doth so much shrink, that they will this winter stand them in little stead."

(2) Irish Clothes recommended for the Soldiers (1599). [*Cal. Carew MSS.*, III. 334.]

Whereas 5 pair of English stockings are appointed yearly for every soldier at 2*s.* 8*d.* the pair, amounting yearly to 13*s.* 4*d.*, and 5 pairs of shoes, at 2*s.* 4*d.* the pair, amounting to 11*s.* 8*d.* and a cap at 3*s.*, being in total 28*s.*; the soldier may have three pair of Irish brogues for the price of one pair of shoes, viz., at 9*d.* the pair of brogues, and for every pair of English stockings two pair of Irish frieze stockings, viz. at 16*d.* the pair, which will be far better for them, in the opinion of such as are well acquainted with the country, than the now apparel. And so out of the same, at the same charge her Majesty giveth allowance for, an Irish mantle, which costeth but 5*s.*, will be gained to him in the charge and be his bed in the night, and a great comfort to him in sickness and health; for the mantle, being never so wet, will presently, with a little shaking and wringing, be presently dry; for want of which the soldiers, lying abroad, marching, and keeping watch and ward in cold and wet in the winter time, die in the Irish ague and in flux most pitifully. Therefore it were very meet that present consideration were had thereof against the winter.[1]

[1] Sir Henry Wallop, the Vice-Treasurer, had already recommended to Sir Robert Cecil, then Secretary of State, garments of Irish make for the soldiers, as being cheaper

(3) Victuals and Pay. ["A Proportion for one man his Victuals for a week" (1599). *Cal. Carew MSS.*, III. 350–1.]

1 *lb.* biscuit or 1½ *lb.* loaf bread each day of the week. On Sunday 2 *lb.* salt or 2½ *lb.* fresh beef. Monday, 1 *lb.* Holland cheese. Tuesday, ½ *lb.* butter. Wednesday, 1 quart of great oatmeal called "cleas." Thursday, 1 *lb.* English cheese. Friday, the third part of a large dried cod. Saturday, ½ *lb.* butter.

Mem.: The like proportion shall be served every second week; only in lieu of 2 *lb.* of beef upon the Sunday, 1 *lb.* bacon, or 1 *lb.* of salt pork is to be delivered, with one pint of pease.[1]

[The charge per annum of 100 Foot.]

For a captain, 4*s.* sterling a day; petty-captain, 2*s*; ensign, 1*s.* 6*d.*; two sergeants, one drummer, and a surgeon, at 12*d.* each, and 100 footmen at 8*d.* Total for a year, £1,426 10*s.* 10*d.*; i.e. in "lendings," £971 3*s.* 2½*d.*; in apparel, £455 7*s.* 7½*d.*

The wages of a band of 100 footmen without captain and officers for one year at the above rate amount to £1,216 13*s.* 4*d.*[1]

LX. GARRISON LIFE IN IRELAND

["Descriptio itineris Capitanei Josiæ Bodley in Lecaliam apud Ultonienses, Ann. 1602. *Ulster Journal of Archæology* (1854), II. 77–95.][2]

(Josias Bodley,[3] and a number of other officers all of high rank and fame in Elizabeth's army, had been invited by Sir Richard Moryson,[4] Governor of Lecale in Down, to spend Christmas with him at his house. Bodley opens his narrative with an account of their cold ride from Armagh over the bleak mountains in the face of a strong wind. Their hardships offer a striking contrast to the welcome and entertainment which awaited them, a description of which follows.)

When we had approached within a stone's throw of the house, . . . behold! forthwith innumerable servants! Some light us with pinewood lights and torches because it is dark; others, as

and more durable than those sent from England. Burghley, however, disapproved, for it had been pointed out to him by the Lord Deputy, Lord Burgh, that though the clothes could be had cheaper in Ireland, yet the friezes were made by the rebels, who would thus receive "her Majesty's good coin, wherewith they buy out of Denmark, Scotland and other parts, powder and munition to maintain their rebellion."—See *Cal. S.P.I.* (1596–7), pp. 359, 383, 413. See pp. 70–1.

[1] Much fuller lists of provisions for the troops and tables of wages will be found scattered through the State Papers. The establishment of the Earl of Essex (1598) is given in detail by Fynes Moryson, *op. cit.* II. 222–9.

[2] The translation quoted here was made by Bishop Reeves from a transcript of the manuscript in the British Museum. See Falkiner, *Illustrns. Irish Hist.*, pp. 326–7.

[3] Josias Bodley was a brother of Sir Thomas Bodley, founder of the Bodleian Library at Oxford. He came to Ireland in 1598 and served under both Essex and Mountjoy. He was knighted by the latter in 1604. Bodley was held in high repute for his skill in engineering.

[4] Moryson had been present at the siege of Kinsale, and was shortly afterwards appointed Governor of Lecale. He became Governor of Waterford in 1603, and was appointed Vice-President of Munster in 1609. He was a younger brother of Fynes Moryson the traveller.

soon as we alight, take our horses, and lead them into a handsome and spacious stable, where neither hay nor oats are wanting. Master Moryson himself leads us by wide stairs into a large hall where a fire is burning the height of our chins, as the saying is ; and afterwards into a bed-chamber, prepared in the Irish fashion. Here, having taken off our boots, we all sit down and converse on various matters ; Captain Caulfield about supper and food . . . Captain Constable about hounds . . . and the rest about other things. Master Moryson ordered a cup of Spanish wine to be brought, with burnt sugar, nutmeg, and ginger ; and made us all drink a good draught of it, which was very grateful to the palate, and also good for procuring an appetite for supper, if anyone needed such.

(*Here follows an account of an elaborate supper, and a discourse upon drinking.*)

Let us now return to Lecale ; where the supper . . . being ended, we again enter our bedroom, in which was a large fire, for at the time it was exceedingly cold out of doors, and benches for sitting on, and plenty of tobacco, with nice pipes, was set before us. The wine also had begun to operate a little on us, and everyone's wits had become somewhat sharper. . . . We conversed profoundly about things political, economical, philosophical, and much else . . . [and] after everyone had drank two or three healths, still discoursing, between each health, on grave affairs relating to the State (amongst which, many things concerning Marius and Sylla, some concerning Cæsar and Pompey, and also about Marcus Coriolanus, were most learnedly handled and most keenly argued), we all at once agree to go to bed. . . . [In the morning] the domestics knowing that it was time for us to rise, came in to light the fire . . . before we get out of bed they bring to us a certain aromatic of strong ale . . . they also bring beer (if any prefer it) . . . they also bring pipes of the best tobacco to drive away rheums and catarrhs. . . . How can we now tell about the sumptuous preparation of everything ? How about the dinners ? How about the suppers ? How about the dainties ? For we seemed as if present . . . at the nuptial banquet to which some Cleopatra had invited her Antony ; so many varieties of meats were there, so many kinds of condiments. . . .

If you now enquire whether there were any other amusements, besides those I have related, I say an infinite number, and the very best. For if we wished to ride after dinner, you would have seen forthwith ten or twelve handsome steeds with good equipments and other ornaments, ready for the road. We quickly mount ; we visit the Well and Chair of St. Patrick, the ancient Fort, or any other place according to our fancy ; and at length

returning home, cards, tables, and dice are set before us, and amongst other things that Indian tobacco (of which I shall never be able to make sufficient mention).[1] . . . (*Here follows a discourse upon tobacco*). And now once more to our Lecale—where, amongst other things that contributed to hilarity, there came one night after supper certain maskers of the Irish gentry . . . dressed in shirts, with many ivy leaves sewed on here and there over them; and had over their faces masks of dog-skin, with holes to see out of, and noses made of paper; their caps were high and peaked (in the Persian fashion), and were also of paper, and ornamented with the same ivy leaves.[2] I may briefly say we play at dice. At one time the drums sound on their side; at another the trumpet on ours. We fight a long time a doubtful game; at length the maskers lose, and are sent away, having lost all their money (*et vacui dimittuntur*). Now whoever hath seen a dog, struck with a stick or a stone, run out of the house with his tail hanging between his legs, would have [so] seen these maskers going home: without money; out of spirits; out of order; without even saying "Farewell"; and they said that each of them had five or six miles to go to his home, and it was then two hours after midnight. . . .

But enough of these matters; for there would be no end of writing, were I to recount all our grave and merry doings in that space of seven days. I shall therefore make an end both of the journey and of my story. For on the seventh day from our arrival, we departed, mournful and sad; and Master Moryson accompanied us as far as Dundrum; to whom each of us bidding farewell, and again farewell, and shouting the same for a long way, with our caps raised above our heads, we hasten to our quarters; and there we each cogitate seriously over our own affairs.

LXI. DIFFICULTIES CONNECTED WITH WARFARE IN IRELAND

[T. Gainsford, *The Glory of England* (1618), p. 144.][3]

The country and Kingdom of Ireland is generally for natural air, and commodity of blessings, sufficient to satisfy a covetous or curious appetite; but withal divided into such fastness of mountain, bog, and wood, that it hath emboldened the inhabitants to presume on hereditary security, as if disobedience had a protection. For the mountains deny any carriages, but by great industry and

[1] Tobacco was introduced into England about the year 1586, and its use was still the subject of social controversy.

[2] These strange disguises were probably survivals of ancient mythological representations. See J. MacNeill, *Celtic Ireland*, p. 62.

[3] Gainsford's observations were the result of his own experience. He served at the siege of Kinsale, and in Ulster against Tyrone.

strength of men (so have we drawn the cannon over the deepest bogs and stoniest hills), and the passages are everyway dangerous, both for unfirmness of ground, and the lurking rebel, who will plash down whole trees over the passes, and so intricately wind them, or lay them, that they shall be a strong barricade, and then lurk in ambush amongst the standing wood, playing upon all comers as they intend to go along. On the bog they likewise presume with a naked celerity to come as near our foot and horse as is possible, and then fly off again,[1] knowing we cannot or indeed dare not follow them: and thus they serve us in the narrow entrances into their glens and stony paths, or if you will, dangerous quagmires of their mountains, where 100 shot shall rebate the hasty approach of 500; and a few muskets (if they durst carry any) well placed, will stagger a pretty army, not acquainted with the terror, or unpreventing the mischief.

["Minute of the most gross error, long since committed and still continued, in the Wars of Ireland, and the way to redress the same, briefly declared" (1599). *Cal. S.P. Ireland* (1599–1600), pp. 362–3.]

There hath been idly spent near about a million of her Majesy's treasure from time to time by the Deputies here, only in making roads and journeys into the north part of Ireland, not judicially to advance the service, but ambitiously to get themselves a name, forsooth, for having penetrated the rebels' country. And if one of them chanced to go further therein than his predecessors, he thought it a great matter, and triumphed not a little. Let those journeys of all those Deputies be looked to with the eye of good judgment, and it will manifestly appear that they have produced no other effect than a ship doth in the wide sea, who (*sic*) leaves no longer print or impression in the water than for the very instant, the waves immediately filling the way she makes, so as the same cannot be found. Wheresoever forces are conducted against these rebels, they forthwith retire, and hold themselves close in bushes and bogs, without engaging any fight, but upon advantages; and no sooner shall our camp remove or dislodge, but they forthwith possess and overspread the ground we held. The garrisons left heretofore at Armagh and at Blackwater have put her Highness to most endless and exorbitant charges for the victualling and relieving of them, by a general rising and assembly of all the forces in the land; those holds and garrisons being ever weak and wretched, and serving just to as much purpose, as he that should endeavour to catch the wind in a net. It is strange that Deputies are not restrained from running still this wild goose chase,

[1] The manœuvres of Irish soldiers seemed to an Englishman, writing in 1599, rather "a morris dance, by their tripping after their bagpipes, than any soldier-like exercise."—*Irish Arch. Soc. Tracts* (1842), p. 35.

attempting vainly to perform, with a sudden puff of courage, that which requireth a clean contrary manage and manner of proceeding. . . . While the remote parts of this land have been thus improvidently sought for and hunted after, the rebels have made war and waste in the heart of the English Pale, being the centre of this regiment.

In a few words, the only way to regain and recover the entire dominion of this cursed land, is to proceed as King Edward I did, after long wars (and extreme losses) with the Welshmen, for the subduing of Wales; by edifying strong castles and forts upon the nearest retreats and fastnesses of the rebels, thereby to curb and check their vagrant incursions and depredations, and thus by degrees to enlarge the lost bounds and limits. By this means only, with much more safety and far less charges to her Highness, Ireland may be won and held in subjection. For we see by manifold experience, what madness it is for a Deputy or General to lead royal forces against naked rogues in woods and bogs, whom hounds can scarce follow, and much less men. Their ordinary food is a kind of grass. Neither clothes nor houses, generally, do they care for.[1] With this their savage life are they able to wear out any army that seeketh to conquer them. It is more possible to defeat them at once, than to destroy so many wolves and foxes; the which may be effected by tract of time and means convenient, but not to be attempted by plain force in the open field, they having dens, coverts and labyrinths inextricable, for their succours.[2]

LXII. IRISH FIGHTING MEN

(1) English Praise of Irish Soldiery. [Sir Anthony St. Leger to Henry VIII (6 April, 1543). *S.P. Hen. VIII* (1834), III. 444.]

I think for their feat of war, which is for light scourers, there are no properer horsemen in Christian ground, nor more hardy, nor yet that can better endure hardness.[3] . . . And as to their footmen, they have one sort, which be harnessed in mail and bassenettes,[4]

[1] This extract is not chosen for the light which it throws upon Irish social conditions.

[2] "If such a running away had been in France or Flanders, either of the French King's army or of the King of Spain's, the mightier of them could not have showed himself again in the field within one year following, and must of necessity have lost towns and territories. But these rascals, although they run away and be dispersed into so many parts as they are heads, yet till they be all killed, or the fastness[es] of their countries garrisoned upon, and their cows, which is their revenues, and their very lives, taken from them, will cloak themselves together."—"A Journal of the late journey by the Lord Deputy (Russell), against the archtraitor Tyrone and O'Donnell" (1595). *Cal. Car. MSS.*, III. 117. See also *S.P. Hen. VIII*, III. 347; *Cal. S.P.I.* (1574–85), pp. lxv–lxvii; *Cal. S.P. Venetian* (1592–1603), pp. 370–1, 382.

[3] "They are very valiant and hardy, for the most part great endurers of cold, labour, hunger, and all hardiness, very active and strong of hand, very swift of foot, very vigilant and circumspect in their enterprises, very present in perils, very great scorners of death." —Spenser's *View*, p. 640.

[4] A skull-cap of metal or other hard material.

having every one of them his weapon, called a "sparre" (long-handled axe), much like the axe of the Tower, and they be named gallowglass; and for the more part their boys bear for them three darts apiece, which darts they throw, or they come to the hand strife: these sort of men be those that do not lightly abandon the field, but bide the brunt to the death. The other sort, called kerne, are naked men, but only their shirts and small coats . . . and those have darts, and short bows; which sort of people be both hardy and "delyver" (active) to search woods or morasses, in the which they be hard to be beaten.

(2) Horsemen, Gallowglass and Kerne. [John Dymmok, "A Treatise of Ireland" (1600), *Irish Archæol. Soc. Tracts* (1842), pp. 7–8.] [1]

Their forces consist of three sorts, horsemen, gallowglass and kerne.[2] The horsemen are armed with head-pieces, shirts of mail or jacks,[3] a sword, a skein [4] and a spear. They ride upon pads [5] or pillions without stirrups, and in this differ from ours; that in joining with the enemy, they bear not their staves or lances under arm, and so put it to the rest, but taking it by the middle, bear it above arm, and so encounter.[6] Every horseman hath two or three horses, and to every horse a knave; his horse of service is always led spare, and his knave, which carrieth his harness and spear, rideth upon the other, or else upon a hackney.

The gallowglass are picked and selected men of great and mighty bodies, cruel without compassion. The greatest force of the battle consisteth in them, choosing rather to die than to yield, so that when it cometh to bandy blows, they are quickly slain or win the field.[7] They are armed with a shirt of mail, a skull [8] and a skein: the weapon they most use is a battle-axe or halberd, six foot long, the blade whereof is somewhat like a shoemaker's knife, and without pike; the stroke whereof is deadly where it lighteth. And being thus armed, reckoning to him a man for his harness bearer, and a boy to carry his provision, he is named "a spare" of his weapon so called, 80 of which "spares" make a battle of gallowglass.

The kerne is a kind of footman, slightly armed with a sword,

[1] Dymmok was probably an Englishman, and was in attendance upon Essex when he was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

[2] See Ware's *Antiquities* (ed. Harris, 1764), ch. xxi., and the chapter on "Irish Soldiers and Elizabethan Warfare," in G. B. O'Connor's *Elizabethan Ireland.*

[3] Leather-quilted coats, sometimes plated with iron.

[4] A dagger, knife.

[5] Stuffed saddles.

[6] Compare Spenser's account of the Irish horsemen, *View*, p. 639.

[7] Barnaby Rich declared that the service of the gallowglass in the field was "neither good against horsemen, nor able to endure an encounter of pikes."—*New Descr. of Ireland* (1610), ch. x.

[8] Close-fitting head-piece.

a target of wood, or a bow and sheaf of arrows with barbed heads, or else 3 darts, which they cast with a wonderful facility and nearness, a weapon more noisome to the enemy, especially horsemen, than it is deadly; within these few years they have practised the musket and caliver, and are grown good and ready shot.

Some will have the Dalonyes[1] or horseboys to be a fourth sort, for that they take them into the fight; they are the very scum, and outcast of the country, and not less serviceable in the camp for "meatinge" and dressing of horses, than hurtful to the enemy with their darts.[2]

(3) Bodyguard of an Irish Chieftain. [Lord Justice Drury to Sir Francis Walsingham (26 June, 1579), State Papers Ireland, Elizabeth. Vol. lxvii, No. 12.]

But the second day after my coming thither (Kells), word came to me that certain strangers, noblemen of good houses, were come to Dublin, having purpose to come presently to me with commendation from some of Her Majesty's Privy Council to be courteously entertained here as travellers. . . . I retired myself, for the better entertainment of the said strangers, to Sir Lucas Dillon's house, seven miles from Kells, and there on Whit-Sunday, in the morning, they presented themselves unto me, with letters of commendation from Sir Henry Sydney, declaring them to be two barons, and one a rich merchant's son of Strassburg . . . and upon talk with them they disclosed their purpose to be, after they had seen Galway, Limerick, and some other port towns of this land, that they would pass into Scotland . . . and having parted from them . . . and lodged them at Trim, a mile off, in Lawrence Hammond's house, sending . . . Patrick Barnwell with them as a companion, they came again the next morning, and being with me at service in the church, O'Reilly with his brother Philip, and his uncle Edmund, and thirty horsemen well furnished, came unlooked for, to present unto me a submission and supplication, in the behalf as well of himself as of his whole country[3] . . . to have his people not only framed to English manners, but also his country made shire ground, and subject to law under her Majesty's writ. Weighing . . . his gravity in years, and good discretion in government, I thought it good to honour him with the title of knighthood. . . . But how strange the view of these savage personages (most of them wearing glibs, and armed in mail, with pesantes[4]

[1] From the Irish *díolmhaineach*, pl. *díolmhainigh*, a mercenary or hireling.

[2] A gallowglass in armour is depicted in the map of 1567, printed in *S.P. Henry VIII*, II. For all types of fighting men of the period, see the interesting illustrations to John Derricke's "Image of Ireland" (1581), in *Somers' Tracts*, I., and to Stafford's *Pacata Hibernia*, which are reproduced in O'Grady's edition.

[3] Now the county of Cavan.

[4] *Pesane*, a gorget or mail plate attached to the helmet.

and skulls, and riding upon pillions), seemed to our strangers, I leave to your wisdom to think of. And so myself and the train, together with these strangers, and O'Reilly with his company, being entertained with the said Sir Lucas Dillon, we parted.[1]

LXIII. BARDIC POEM OF INCITEMENT ADDRESSED TO THE IRISH

[Poem by Angus MacDaighre O'Daly, tr. by Standish O'Grady, *Catalogue of Irish MSS. in the Brit. Museum*, pp. 505–6.]

God be with you, ye warriors of the Gael ! let not subjugation be heard reported of you, for infamy ye have never merited in time of battle nor of war. By you, O generous and weapon-glittering company ! for sake of your own natural soil be a valiant struggle made : for homesteads of the Gadelian island's fertile field. If, O gallant band of hardy enterprise, ye would fain enforce your claim to Ireland, never shun desperate deed nor contest, nor great and frequent battles. Better to be on the cold hills' summits, keeping a watch that is brief-slumbered and alert, and seeking chance of bicker with the foreign horde that have the land of your forefathers. Rather is it somewhat sluggishly that [of late] Moyliffey and the Fort of Tara are by you vindicated for your own ; or Cashel of the pure-bright streams, or Cruachan's smooth sward that was Meave's.[2] Children of Milesius ! defect of memory it is that hath made you to omit the putting in a plea to be seized of Taillte[3]—level domain of fine white-coloured dwellings—and to annex Maisten's salmon-fertile borders. Not lack of active vigour is it, not want of skill in shooting, that made you—young men of Ireland—to be reverential and obedient to them : the pushing and aggressive English crowd. Ireland ! it is this : that God hath not seen fit to have you help each one the other ; else, to the force from London's baleful quarters victory over you all together had never appertained. Torment it is to me that in the very tribal gathering foreigners proscribe them that are Ireland's royal chiefs, in whose own ancestral territory is vouchsafed them now no designation other than the lowly wood-kerne's[4] name. They (and this is but a little part of the iniquity wrought on Ireland's men) are in the rugged glens, while the plain country of this that

[1] An interesting account of a plundering raid into Thomond in 1599 will be found in O'Clery's *Life of Hugh O'Donnell* (ed. and tr. Murphy), pp. 195–6. The herds and other booty were placed in front of the army, which proceeded through Connacht with "much noise and great shouting." O'Donnell with his nobles marched in the centre, while protecting troops brought up the rear.

[2] Queen of Connacht, who plays a conspicuous part in the Sagas of the Heroic Cycle.

[3] Teltown, a townland in Co. Meath.

[4] Wood-kerne, a general name for Irish outlaws.

is Crimhthann's region belongs to a rabid gang of strangers.[1] All the treacherous designs that are entertained against them—generous war-accustomed champions that they are—and the number of enemies vigilant to slay them : these be the things that make me to have troubled sleep. When Leinster's heroes—primest of the good men of this land of braves—have victory over the foreigners of Conn's fold (i.e. the English intruders into Ireland) my mind is cheery, blithe, indeed. Again, when these English—that with purpose to work universal ruin of the Gael are come over the billowy sea—achieve success over our free men, I am all gloom. The children of Raghnall[2]—God be their shelter—are a complement of the blue-bladed warriors sufficient to encounter fight ; yet is it the extremity to which in this glen of theirs they are reduced that affects my mind with debility. God be with them in their lying down and in their rising up—men of strength that they are, most vigorous in the mêlée—God be with them in their standing up and in their lying down, and in the time of delivering the battle.

[1] The level and fertile district now Co. Kildare was once held by the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles.

[2] The O'Byrnes to whom the poem is addressed, so styled from an ancestor Raghnall.

PART IV

THE TUDOR PLANTATIONS AND THE COLONISATION OF ULSTER

LXIV. THE PLANTATION OF LEIX AND OFFALY

(1) Brian O'Connor Captures the Vice-Deputy.[1] [The Council of Ireland to Wolsey (15 May, 1528). *S.P. Hen. VIII* (1834), II. 127–8.]

We have written unto our sovereign Lord of a great misfortune, that happened to the Vice-Deputy of this his Grace's land; which, the twelfth day of this month, in a parliament between him and O'Connor, was, by "trayn precogitate" (premeditated stratagem) taken prisoner, and many of his men slain, and other also taken, to the great discomfort of all the King's subjects here, and encouraging of his Grace's rebels; whereby the said rebels be so enhanced in mind, and bolded, that we fear great damages shall ensue to the King's poor subjects here, before there be any provision made for the same. . . .

Divers times we have advertised the Vice-Deputy to beware of the said O'Connor, and to have paid him the wages, that he and his predecessors have long had, rather than to run to further danger or war;[2] considering the infidelity of the King's Irish rebels, and confederacies, that we heard the aforesaid O'Connor had made with divers great Irishmen, in case the Vice-Deputy would attempt anything against him. Which our counsel notwithstanding, this misfortune is fallen. . . .

(2) Lord Leonard Grey takes O'Connor's Castle of Dengen. [The Council of Ireland to Cromwell (26 June, 1537). *S.P. Hen. VIII* (1834), II. 443.]

Upon the continual wilfulness of O'Connor, who undoubtedly hath been the most rank and seditious traitor against the King's Grace, of all others that we have known, either Irish or English, the said Lord Deputy prepared a journey upon him, wherein the same Lord Deputy, accompanied with the Lord of Delvin, the Treasurer of the wars, the Chief Justice, and such others of the Council as were assigned for that purpose, marched

[1] Richard Nugent, Lord Delvin, who acted as Vice-Deputy in the absence of the Earl of Kildare.

[2] Lord Delvin had withheld a "black-rent" (tribute) from the O'Connors, which had been agreed upon by the Government.

towards his country the Tuesday after Trinity Sunday. And first the said Deputy invaded, by the conduct and guiding of the Lord of Delvin, the countries of O'Mulloy, McGeoghegan and O'Melaghlin, next adjoining to his country, which were his adherents, and most strength ; whereby he constrained them not only to forsake him, but also aid our part against him. That done, the said Lord Deputy proceeded to the invasion of the said O'Connor, and that on the furthest part from us of the said O'Connor's country, where no English host hath been known to enter, through the conduct of the same baron.

And after he had taken certain piles in the frontures and passages of his border, he besieged his new castle, called the Dengen, which being builded in a great marsh, by reason whereof, and great ditches and waters about the same, was of such strength, as we have not hitherto seen the like in this land. There was within the castle about forty persons, the most of them gunners : nevertheless, by great provision and labour of men, a way was so made, that by night a battery piece was conveyed so nigh, that she made battery at the castle ; and after by assault the same was won, and the ward which was in it had the same grace and pardon that such men deserved ; so as a good company of gunners be well despatched. The castle so obtained, his Grace's said Deputy, by our whole assents, caused the same to be prostrated ; for we thought it was not meet for no subject to have such hold in that place.

(3) The Policy of Permanent Garrisons. [The Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland to Henry VIII (18 Jan., 1540). *S.P. Hen. VIII* (1834), III. 175–7.]

After our most humble duties remembered to your most excellent Majesty. Please it the same to be advertised, that the detestable traitors, young Gerald,[1] O'Neill, O'Donnell, the pretended Earl of Desmond, O'Brien, O'Connor, O'Mulloy, with their sect and confederates, do not only persist and continue in their prepensed most mischievous and cruel dispositions to execute their tyrannous purposes, utterly to destroy all your Grace's true and faithful subjects of this your Highness's land . . . to erect and glorify the Bishop of Rome's usurped primacy, and to elevate and fortify the Geraldine sect . . . but also procure and excite all the residue of Irishmen . . . to join with them to complete and perfect their most detestable and vengeable purposes : practising, as they commonly report, to excite the Emperor, the French King, and other foreign princes, to take their parts. . . . For preventing their traitor's purposes, under your Majesty's most prudent

[1] Gerald Fitzgerald, son of the ninth Earl of Kildare. For the activities of the Geraldine League formed after the suppression of the rebellion of "Silken Thomas," see P. Wilson, *Begs. of Mod. Ireland*, ch. 4.

reformation, we think very expedient, that at least some provision be made by your Highness for extreme punishment of these rank traitors. . . . And if your Highness . . . have determined to sustain so great a charge . . . to advance hither a main army for the reducing of this your Grace's land to a civil order and reformation, whereby we and all your Highness's true subjects might have quietness, commodity, and wealth; we think ourselves bounden not only to put our wits and help to bring the same to effect, but also to advertise your Majesty of our poor minds, what number of men, and of what sorts, shall be expedient, and where they shall land, how to proceed, and what necessaries to bring, and to be prepared here against their arrival.

The land is very large, by estimation and descriptions as large as England; so that to inhabit the whole with new inhabitors, the number would be so great, that there is no prince christened, that commodiously might spare so many subjects to depart out of his region; especially such, as should be meet and able to inhabit a land. . . .

But to enterprise the whole extirpation and total destruction of all the Irishmen of the land, it would be a marvellous sumptuous charge, and great difficulty; considering both the lack of inhabitors, and the great hardness and misery these Irishmen can endure, both of hunger, cold, thirst, and evil lodging, more than the inhabitants of any other land. And by precedent of the conquest of this land, we have not heard or read in any chronicle, that at such conquests the whole inhabitants of the land have been utterly extirpated and banished. Wherefore we think the easiest way and least charge were, to take such as have not heinously offended to a reasonable submission, and to prosecute the principals with all rigour and extremity.[1] Which so done, and all their weapons and harness taken of them, and rulers, and certain garrisons of men of war in every quarter continued, shall ever keep them in subjection, with part of the profits rising in every such country. . . .

(4) Instructions for the Plantation. ["Instructions of Philip and Mary to Thomas Radcliffe, Lord Fitzwalter,[2] their Deputy in Ireland, touching the countries of Leix and Offaly" (28 April, 1556). Cotton MSS. Titus B., XI, No. 241.]

Touching the said countries, our special intent and desire is, that the same and the rest of our whole Realm should by authority

[1] St. Leger wrote to Cromwell (2 Jan., 1538), with regard to the subjection of O'Connor and his country of Offaly: "We assure your good Lordship, that the same country is much easier won, than kept; for whensoever the King's pleasure be to win the same again, it will be done without great difficulty, but the keeping thereof will be both chargeable and difficult; for, unless it be peopled with others than be there already, and also certain fortresses there builded and warded, if it be gotten the one day, it is lost the next."—*S.P. Hen. VIII*, II. 535–6.

[2] Subsequently Earl of Sussex.

of Parliament be made shire ground and divided into sufficient and reasonable counties as our Realm of England is, that the said countries should be also divided into townships, manors and baronies, as our counties of Meath, Kildare, Kilkenny and others are, and into parishes if the same have churches, convenient and necessary lying for the same. We desire also if the Dempsies and those rebels the Mores and the O'Connors shall call for grace, and do submit themselves unto order and mercy, that those countries shall then be parted in three parts, and thereof to assign unto the said O'Connors, O'Mores and Dempsies, the thirds ; they paying for the acre 2*d.* one with another to us, our heirs and successors, and the tenants to have state of inheritance therein, to them and their heirs male . . . paying heriot and relief at every decease. . . . And those that have the estate to be bound to answer our common laws of that Realm at the county days, law days, sessions and assizes, and at their own charges to serve us and our heirs, at our Deputy's commandment, as good subjects ought to do. . . . That they shall also for every ploughland keep not passing one man, except the same be English or of their own sept, and he to be no idle man but a labourer. And that they shall pay their rent and duty, twice the year. And all the resident of the said countries of the age from twelve years to sixty [years] shall if our said Deputy shall so command, appear personally once in the year at our Law Day, to be holden at some one castle of the same countries, where they be resident, and there answer for the good rule and order of themselves and their households and to be sworn to be true to us, our heirs and successors, with promise that no one man of the same sept, shall have in his own occupation above two ploughlands upon pain of forfeiture of his estate.

And they shall not keep and maintain the fastnesses of the countries, or stop the rivers and fords or break the bridges of the same, against our power and force upon like pain, and to be further punished upon our will and pleasure. And none of the same to inhabit or dwell in the fastnesses or woods, but in houses of stone, or timber, upon like pain. And no man wilfully to burn, throw or pike down any castle or dwelling house of his own, or any other of our subjects upon pain of death. And no Irishman to keep in his house, above one harness, and the same to be for his own body upon like forfeiture, and to keep no hand gun upon pain of death. And no man to marry with any Scot,[1] upon like forfeiture of his estate. And no man being a bastard born to enjoy any of those lands, by no covenant or means, upon pain of forfeiture. And no man to enjoy that inheritance, but such as will dwell thereon, except for the special licence of us, our heirs and successors, or our Deputy's for the time being provided. Also,

[1] See pp. 46, 298–9.

that the assignment of these thirds to these men shall be of lands in the west of the countries next unto the Shannon. And albeit these conditions and covenants above remembered seem reasonable, and such as the said Mores, O'Connors and Dempsies should consider and accept, submitting themselves to our mercy for their former offences, yet we refer the whole order hereof to our said Deputy, to be by him upon their submission and behaviour further considered, tempered, and qualified as to his discretion and wisdom, with the advice of the said Council shall be thought good.

And our further pleasure is, if our said Deputy shall find the said O'Connors conformable and agreed to these and the like reasonable orders, that then he our said Deputy, they finding sufficient sureties for observance of the said orders, shall set and restore O'Connor to liberty, to end the rest of his days in peace among his children and kin with our good favour.

And having appointed and devised sufficiently and mercifully for the Irish if they have grace so to receive and accept it, the other two parts of these countries are also to be considered. And first the two forts,[1] to either of which for the maintenance of the constables and guards thereof, our pleasure is, that there shall be laid and assigned for demesnes, three ploughlands, in just proportion of meadow pasture, arable land, wood or turf, for reparation and fuel, so near as may be conveniently measured, and the same to lie nigh and adjoining to the said castle.

The rest of the said two parts we will shall be distributed among English subjects, as well such as be born in England as Ireland, having respect to men of honesty and good service, and such as have most need, and be likeliest to do good thereon. The same to pay as the Irish pay for the acre 2*d.* one with another and to hold the same in socage, paying heriot and relief at every decease, and to have an estate of inheritance to them and their heirs male. . . . And to answer the law at the County and Law Days, to serve us, our heirs and successors at our Deputy's commandment, with horse and harness, without wages for service within that our Realm against all enemies, rebels and traitors. And to keep for every ploughland one man at the least of English birth or nation and he to be an archer, and not above one of the Irish blood and birth upon pain of forfeiture. And to pay their rent duly twice in the year. And none of them to sell or lease his tenement to any Irishman of Irish blood and birth upon pain of forfeiture. . . . And to sell and lease the same to no Englishman of Irish birth without licence of our said Deputy. And no Englishman to enjoy the said inheritance longer than he dwelleth and inhabiteth in Ireland. And they and their families, if our said Deputy will so command, personally to appear once in the year yearly at our Law

See p. 48 *n.* 6.

Days, to be holden at some one castle in the country where they be resident, and there to be sworn as before and to answer for the good rule of themselves and their said families, with promise that no one man shall have in occupation above three ploughlands upon pain of forfeiture, without the special licence of us our heirs and successors.

And the said English tenants shall endeavour them to their uttermost to break and destroy the fastnesses and strengths of the said countries and to open the fords, and maintain the bridges, except when and where our Deputy shall command the contrary. And every of the said tenants to have harness for himself and one man, for every ploughland. . . .

And according to this order and these conditions tempered and qualified as our said Deputy with the advice aforesaid, shall think good to temper and qualify them, we desire that all other lands conquested and evicted from rebels, traitors and enemies shall be ordered, demised and granted to our loving subjects, English and Irish, as well in Leinster as Ulster and the rest, i.e. two parts to Englishmen born in England or Ireland and the third part to Irishmen of birth and blood, heartily praying our said Deputy, specially our good soldiers and such as have served well, as we doubt not he will, with such indifference and reasonable good favour in the distribution of the said lands that the good may take courage to continue their well-doing and be [an] example to the evil to amend their faults and to do better hereafter as well for duty's sake as preferment.[1]

(5) The Establishment of Queen's and King's Counties. [An Act whereby the King's and Queen's Majesties . . . be entitled to the countries of Leix, Slewmarge, Irry, Glinmaliry, and Offaly, and for making the same countries shire grounds. 3 & 4 Philip and Mary, c. 2. *Irish Statutes* (1786), I. 241–3.]

Forasmuch as the O'Mores, O'Dempsies, O'Connors and others of the Irishry, lately inhabiting the countries of Leix, Slewmarge, Irry, Glinmaliry and Offaly, and by their sundry manifest treasons after many pardons granted to them, and sundry benefits showed to them, yet often rebelled, committing great hurts to the King's and Queen's Majesties most loving subjects, by the which they provoked the most worthy prince King Edward VI, brother to our said sovereign lady the Queen's Majesty, to use his power against them, who at length, to his great charge, did subdue and repress the said Irish enemies or rebels, bringing into his possession the countries aforesaid, since which time the said O'Mores,

[1] For typical grants actually made to settlers, see the Cal. of Fiants, Edw. VI, No. 724; Eliz., No. 474, contained in the 8th and 11th *Reports of the Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland.*

O'Dempsies, O'Connors and others of the said Irishry, have traitorously, contrary to their bounden duties, by force entered the said countries, and them so did hold against the King's and Queen's Majesties, unto such time as their Majesties, by the diligent and painful travail and labour of the right honourable the Earl of Sussex, their Majesties' Lord Deputy in Ireland, by the sword evicted and reduced the said countries out of and from the wrongful and usurped possession of the said Irish enemies or rebels, to their Majesties' former possession as of right appertaineth. . . .

Be it therefore ordained, enacted and established . . . that the said King's and Queen's Majesties . . . shall have, hold and possess for ever, as in the right of the Crown of England and Ireland, the said countries of Leix, Slewmarge, Irry, Glinmaliry and Offaly, . . . and all and singular other the hereditaments spiritual and temporal, of what name, nature, kind or quality soever they be of in the said countries . . . except all and singular such parsonages and vicarages as now have cure there, the patronages whereof shall be likewise given to their Majesties, and to the heirs and successors of the said Queen's Majesty for ever.

And to the end the said countries may be from henceforth the better conserved, and kept in civil government; be it enacted . . . that the new fort in Leix, be from henceforth for ever called and named Maryborough, and that the said countries of Leix, Slewmarge, Irry, and such portion of Glinmaliry as standeth and is situate of that side of the river of Barrow, whereupon the said Maryborough standeth and is situated . . . be from the first day of this Parliament, one shire or county, named, known, and called the Queen's County, and shall from the said day be taken, reputed, and used as a county or shire, to all purposes for ever, and that there shall be appointed, ordained, and made within the said shire or county, for the rule thereof, and execution of things there, sheriff, coroners, escheator, clerk of the market, and other officers and ministers of justice yearly, as in other the shires or counties in this Realm of Ireland be or should be.

And be it also enacted . . . that the new fort in Offaly, be from henceforth for ever, called and named Philipstown, and that the said country of Offaly, and such portion of the said Glinmaliry as standeth and is situated of that side of the river of Barrow, whereupon the said Philipstown standeth and is situated . . . be from the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel, next coming after the first day of this present Parliament, one shire or county, named, known, and called the King's County, and shall from the said feast be taken, reputed, and used as a county or shire to all purposes for ever; and that there shall be appointed, ordained, and made within the said county or shire for the rule thereof, and execution of things there, sheriffs, coroners, escheator, clerk of the market, and other

officers and ministers of justice yearly, as in other the shires or counties of this Realm of Ireland be or should be.

(6) Fifty Years of Warfare

(a) Miserable State of the Settlers. [Sir Henry Sydney to the Lords of the Council (15 Dec., 1575). A. Collins, *Letters and Memorials of State*, I. 83.]

On the west side lieth the countries of Offaly or O'Connor's country, Leix or O'More's country. . . . The first two were shired by the names of King's and Queen's Counties, and in the time of my Lord Sussex's government granted in fee farm, with good reservations to sundry tenants, whereof the greatest part then were "mere" [1] English; and now both countries are much spoiled and wasted, by the race and offspring of the old native inhabitors, which grow great, and increase in number; and the English tenants decay, both in force and wealth, not of ability to answer their rents and services, but let their lands to Irish tenants. They are daily so spoiled and burned, the charges they have been at, and their daily expenses they be at, to defend themselves, so weakeneth them, as their state is to be pitied; two hundred men, at the least, in the Prince's pay, lie there, to defend them. The revenue of both the countries countervails not the twentieth part of the charge, so that the purchase of that plot is, and hath been very dear, yet now not to be given over in any wise; for, God willing, it shall be recovered and maintained; but this may be an example how the like hereafter is attempted, considering the charge is so great, and the honour and profit so small, to win lands from the Irishry so dearly, as these two countries have been to the Crown.

(b) Rory Oge O'More burns Naas (1577). [The Council of Ireland to the Queen (12 Sept., 1577). *Cal. Carew MSS.*, II. 110.]

Connor MacCormick O'Connor and Rory Oge O'More, contrary to their oaths (hoping for aid out of Connacht), began to gather their friends and confederates to the number of an hundred swords or thereabouts, and so to revolt; who upon a sudden at Christmas Eve last, burnt divers haggards [2] and poor men's cottages of the King's County, to the value of £200. Afterwards with greater force they came to the town of the Naas by night, and burnt about 140 thatched houses; and since that time they have burnt a great part of Leighlin and done some other harms and spoils upon the borders of the Pale.

[Hooker in Holinshed's *Chronicles* (ed. 1808), VI. 395.]

He (Rory O'More) burnt divers men's haggards, poor men's

[1] Latin, *merus*, pure. [2] i.e. stackyards.

houses, and sundry villages, and committed many outrages; and being not resisted, he took such encouragement of his success, that leaving poor villages, he went to great towns, as to the Naas, distant from Dublin about 16 miles. The very same day that he came thither at night, was the patron day of the said town, commonly called the Church Holy Day, which day after the manner of that country . . . they spent in gluttony, drunkenness and surfeiting. And after they had so filled their paunches, and the day was gone, they somewhat late in the night went to their beds, having forgotten to make fast their town gates, or put any watch to ward them. Which thing Rory Oge when he knew . . . in the dead night came to the town with all his company, who like unto a sort of furies and devils new come out of Hell, carried upon the ends of their poles flanks of fire, and did set as they went the low-thatched houses on fire. And the wind being then somewhat great and vehement, one house took fire of another, and so in a trice and moment the whole town was burned; and yet in the town supposed to be five hundred persons in outward appearance, able to have resisted them; but they being in their dead sleeps, suddenly awakened, were so amazed, that they wist not what to do, for the fire was round about them, and past quenching, and to pursue the enemy they were altogether unfurnished, and durst not to do it, neither if they would they could not tell which way to follow him. For he tarried very little in the town, saving that he sat a little while upon the cross in the market place, and beheld how the fire round about him was in every house kindled, and whereat he made great joy and triumph, that he had done and exploited so devilish an act. And then after a short space he arose and departed with great triumph according to his accustomed usage in all his evil actions, but yet contrary to his usage, he killed no one person in the town. As he returned he preyed and spoiled the country, and ranging to and fro, as his wavering head carried him, he came very shortly unto the town at Leighlin Bridge, and there burned part of the town.[1]

[*A Description of Ireland* (1598), ed. E. Hogan, pp. 76–86.]

The new planted inhabitants hath been so molested continually with the multitudes of the first natives thereof, and the O'Mores, and especially at this present, as that they have in a manner recovered the country again and expelled all the English inhabitants, saving three or four which contain themselves within their castles, till they be relieved from England. These O'Mores

[1] After some narrow escapes, Rory was finally taken and killed, and his head set upon the Castle of Dublin.—Collins, *Letters and Mems. of State*, I. 263–4; *Cal. Carew MSS.*, II. 357.

were almost extinct, but they have increased again chiefly for lack of good government, and due observation of such orders as were appointed to the lieutenants thereof by the Earl of Sussex (to wit) that the freeholders of this county, and the King's County be compelled to keep for their own defence the horsemen and footmen, which they are bound to keep by their tenures, which if it had been put to execution without any charge to the Queen had been able to have suppressed any power that the rebels could have raised against them. . . .

The O'Connors have from all quarters gathered themselves together again to recover their ancient possessions, which in a sort they have done, for they have either banished the most of the English that dwelt in that country, or else constrained them to keep within their castles, and albeit there are forty known to be of the race of the O'Connors, yet at this present they lead of themselves their followers, and strangers, almost four hundred.

(c) Massacre of the Irish at Mullamast[1] **(1577).** [*Annals of the Four Masters* (ed. and tr. O'Donovan), V. 1695–7.]

A horrible and abominable act of treachery was committed by the English of Leinster and Meath upon that part of the people of Offaly and Leix that remained in confederacy with them, and under their protection. It was effected thus: they were all summoned to show themselves, with the greatest number they could be able to bring with them, at the great rath of *Mullach-Maistean*; and on their arrival at that place they were surrounded on every side by four lines of soldiers and cavalry, who proceeded to shoot and slaughter them without mercy, so that not a single individual escaped, by flight or force.[2]

(d) Mountjoy's Campaign in Leix (1600). [*Four Masters*, VI. 2179, 2187.]

In this summer (1600) many conflicts, battles, sanguinary massacres, and bloodsheds, in which countless troops were cut off, took place between the English and Irish of Leinster. . . . Owny son of Rory O'More . . . who had been for some time an illustrious, renowned and celebrated gentleman, was slain by the Queen's people in an overwhelming and fierce battle which was fought between them on the borders of Leix, in the month of August of this year. His death was a great check to the valour, prowess, and heroism of the Irish of Leinster and of all Ireland. He was by

[1] Near Athy, in County Kildare.

[2] Certain of the O'Mores were summoned to Mullamast by some of the settlers, both English and Irish, on pretence of being required for military service, they were then massacred, as the *Four Masters* describe. See Bagwell, *Irel. under the Tudors*, II. 130–1.

right, the sole heir to his territory of Leix, and had wrested the government of his patrimony, by the prowess of his hand and the resoluteness of his heart, from the hands of foreigners and adventurers, who had its fee-simple possession passing into a prescribed right for some time before, and until he brought it under his own sway and jurisdiction, and under the government of his stewards and "bonaghts" (hired soldiers) according to the Irish usage; so that there was not one village, from one extremity of his patrimony to the other, which he had not in his possession, except Port-Leix (Maryborough) alone. . . . The O'Connors Faly . . . were for three or four years in the Irish confederation, up to this time. During this period they took and destroyed the most of the castles of Offaly [and indeed all], except Dengen [1] and a few others. About Lammas this year the Lord Justice came into their country with many harrows and "pracas," [2] with many scythes and sickles, and destroyed and reaped the ripe and unripe crops of the territory; and the consequence of this was, that the inhabitants fled, and remained in exile and banishment in Ulster and other territories until the end of this year.

[Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary* (1617), II. 1, 76–7.]

His Lordship hearing that Tyrone contained himself in his fastness, and being required out of England to attempt something upon the Leinster rebels, left the northern borders strongly guarded against any invasion, and left order with the Council to hasten the general hosting, and make ready all provisions for a journey into the North, and leaving Dublin the 12th August (1600) rode to the Naas, and so marched to the fort of Philipstown in Offaly, with 560 foot and 60 horse, besides voluntaries in his company.

On the way into Leix his Lordship took a prey of 200 cows, 700 garrons (ponies) and 500 sheep, besides great store of small cattle. The 16th August, his Lordship burning the country and spoiling the corn, marched towards the passage (one of the most dangerous in Ireland) where Sir Oliver Lambert with the forces he had was to meet him. Both of them fought all the way, and killed divers rebels, whereof the Lord Deputy left fifteen dead in the place, besides many hurt. . . .

The best service at that time done, was the killing of Owny son of Rory, a bloody and bold young man, who lately had taken the Earl of Ormonde prisoner [3] and had made great stirs in Munster. He was the chief of the O'Mores' sept in Leix, and by his death

[1] Now Philipstown. [2] Ir. *prâca*, a species of harrow still used in Munster.
[3] For this episode see article on the plantation by R. Dunlop, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, VI, 89–90. Two contemporary drawings of the event are reproduced in the *Pac. Hibernia* and in Gilbert's *Facsimiles of Irish MSS.*, IV. 1.

they were so discouraged, that they never after held up their heads. . . . His Lordship staying in Leix till the twenty-third of August, did many other ways weaken them, for during that time, he fought almost every day with them, and as often did beat them. Our captains, and by their example (for it was otherwise painful) the common soldiers, did cut down with their swords all the rebels' corn, to the value of £10,000 and upwards, the only means by which they were to live, and to keep their bonaghts (hired soldiers). It seemed incredible that by so barbarous inhabitants the ground should be so manured, the fields so orderly fenced, the towns so frequently inhabited, and the highways and paths so well beaten, as the Lord Deputy here found them. The reason whereof was, that the Queen's forces during these wars, never till then came among them.

(7) Transplantation of the O'Mores into Kerry

(a) General Account. [The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council (20 April, 1607). *Cal. S.P. Ireland,* pp. 140–1.]

Having found by long experience that most of the rebellions of this Kingdom (especially of Leinster) have sprung from the O'Mores and the O'Connors inhabiting the King's and Queen's Counties, who have lived discontented these 60 years since they lost those countries, within which compass they have entered into actual rebellion 18 several times, to the great charge of the Crown of England, and the loss of many good servitors; in regard whereof they have sought by all the means in their power to remove the cause thereof, especially the O'Mores, which they could in no sort do but by removing the old inhabitants, viz. the O'Mores and their followers, the Kelleys, Lawlors, McCoghlans, Claneboys, Dorans and Dolans, into some remote parts of the other three provinces; wherein they used as an instrument one Patrick Crosbie,[1] who hath a great interest in some of the chief of them, and by whose help they have with less ado wrought, that these seven septs and their children and families shall depart and altogether abandon that country and settle themselves as aforesaid; which they doubt not will prove a matter of good consequence, both for prevention of future charge to his Majesty, and the perpetual settling of the Queen's County, that is now for the most part planted with English; and as Crosbie hath taken good pains and deserved well, and is besides much hindered in his particular estate, many of those septs inhabiting his lands, which, by their remove, for a good while

[1] Sir Patrick Crosbie was the ancestor of the Glandore family and of Crosbie of Ardfert in Kerry.

will lie waste, they are willing in respect thereof to give him some reasonable recompense. But not wishing to permit him to be troublesome to their Lordships, or to give him anything that might increase his Majesty's charge, they have thought it best to satisfy him with a parcel of lands in Munster, called Tarbert, lying upon the mountains of Slieve Lougher in Kerry, between O'Connors' country and the Knight of the Valleys, which heretofore was surveyed at £70 per annum, and passed to Sir John Holles, who was soon weary of it, so that hitherto it hath yielded no benefits to the Crown. In order therefore, that he may plant some of those who are to be removed thereupon, they have passed it unto him in fee-farm at £5 Irish per annum, in addition to other small favours, which of themselves they may do him here. Pray their Lordships, therefore, to procure his Majesty's letters for passing these lands unto him with as much convenient speed as may be, whereby they may accordingly proceed to the finishing of this service which they have long laboured to effect by reason of the good which they undoubtedly hope will ensue thereof, and the earnest solicitation of the English freeholders of Queen's County.

(*b*) **Petition of the O'Mores (June, 1607).** [*Cal. S.P. Ireland*, pp. 194–5.]

The humble petition of the O'Mores and the six other septs of Leix, otherwise called the Queen's County in Ireland, whose names be underwritten, to the right honourable the Earl of Salisbury.

Declaring how they are daily troubled by the English freeholders of that county, and specially by one Patrick Crosbie, so that they are like to be banished from that country, to inhabit in some remote part of the Kingdom, notwithstanding that they hold land from them by leases which they have ready to show. Pray therefore, as this is contrary to equity and law, and to his Majesty's general and gracious pardon bestowed upon them by public proclamation, that they may not be troubled in any interest or farms which they have now in that county until their full time be expired, and that then they may have licence to dwell in any place within his Majesty's kingdoms during their good behaviour, or else a great many of them will starve, to the number of 300 or 400 poor persons, for want of their buildings and charges and the other means by which they live in that country, which they cannot have in remote waste places. Humbly crave him therefore, in consideration for the estate of poor people, to procure his Majesty's warrant in their favour.

[*Signed by members of the various septs.*]

(*c*) Agreements between Mr. Crosbie and the Seven Septs of Leix. (17 March, 1608). [*Cal. S.P. Ireland*, pp. 465–6.]

That Mr. Crosbie shall swear never to revenge upon any of the septs any anger or controversy that happened between them since the beginning of this matter, and that he shall procure his heirs to do the like.

That he shall give six ploughlands of Tarbert, of that ten ploughlands there, to the six persons subscribed, and to their heirs, they paying him and his heirs £6 sterling, chief rent, with other services and "rising-out"; and for the rest of the six septs he shall place them in the Abbey of O'Dorney, Coishcassan, and upon the "Mountaine"[1] in his other lands, and shall divide amongst them twelve ploughlands upon long leases. . . .

That the septs and their heirs for ever shall be faithful, loving and obedient to Mr. Crosbie and his heir Piers, and their heirs for ever, and shall be directed by them in all service of the King's and all other lawful courses.

That Mr. Crosbie and his heirs shall answer all matters for them, both at Dublin, as before the President, and in sessions, they helping to bear his charges, and yet every of them will appear, if need be.

That Mr. Crosbie and his heirs shall disburden and discharge them from giving meat, drink and clothing to the 288 persons who are not able to live, in this paper annexed . . . but shall keep them himself or dispose of them as he thinks good. . . .

That he and his heirs shall maintain and defend the said septs and their heirs in all lawful causes, and not suffer them to be wronged or oppressed by any officers or others. And both he and they to swear to perform these articles truly, and he to bring his son Piers to the country before Easter Day, to be sworn to perform the same.

[*Signed by members of the various septs.*]

(*d*) Sir Arthur Chichester's Account of his Irish Services (May, 1614). [Sir. J. Gilbert, *Account of Facsimiles of National MSS. of Ireland*, p. 241.]

I have banished the O'Mores, with other Irish septs, their ancient followers, of the Queen's County, and dispersed them into sundry parts (out of all the province of Leinster) into Munster and Connacht; upon consideration, that by their greatness and rebellions they had often disquieted and ruined the English colonies planted there; knowing by experience that they had made nineteen several insurrections against them and the State, since the first new plantation of that country in the time of Queen Mary.

[1] "The Plountaine" in the Calendar is a misreading of the text.

This was often thought of and attempted in the times of my predecessors; but, for the appearance of the great difficulties and dangers like to ensue of it, there was nothing effected until now that it is done without any blood or great noise made of it.

(8) Establishment of the Settlement. ["A Book of Entry of divers Reports and Certificates concerning the State of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the view of certain Commissioners sent thither by King James in the year 1622." Additional MSS. Brit. Museum, 4756, f. 81.]

We hold it our duties to inform your Majesty that this plantation in the King's and Queen's Counties, as it was well begun, so it hath prosperously continued, and is for the most part well built and peopled by the English, and a great strength to the country, and ready for your Majesty's service, and their own defence, and none of those English undertakers were disloyal at any time since, but served the State, and maintained their houses in the greatest extremities; and the owners of the said lands are most of them such as dwell and inhabit upon their plantations, which it were to be wished were pursued in all places of the plantations.

LXV. THE PLANTATION OF MUNSTER

(1) Confiscation of the Desmond Estates. [An Act for the Attainder of the late Earl of Desmond and others (28 Eliz. c. 7). *Irish Statutes* (1786), I. 418–20.]

In their most humble wise beseeching your most excellent Majesty, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and all other your loving and obedient subjects, the Commons of this your most high court of Parliament assembled, that whereas Gerald Fitzgerald, late Earl of Desmond; Sir John Fitzgerald, knight, *alias* Sir John of Desmond, knight . . . most falsely and traitorously, some of them by open rebellion in divers parts of your Majesty's Realm of Ireland, and the others, by sundry confederacies and conspiracies . . have committed, perpetrated, and done many detestable and abominable treasons against your Highness, to the great peril and danger of the utter destruction and overthrow of the good estate and public peace of this your said Realm of Ireland . . . it may please your Highness . . . that it may be enacted by the authority of this present Parliament, that the said Gerald Fitzgerald, late Earl of Desmond . . . shall be by authority of this present Act, convicted and attainted of high treason . . . and that the said Earl of Desmond, and all and every of the said offenders . . . shall lose and forfeit to your Highness, and to your heirs and successors, all and every such honours, castles, manors, messuages, lands, tenements,

rents, reversions, remainders, possessions, rights, conditions, interests, offices, fees, annuities, and all other their hereditaments, goods, chattels, debts, and other things . . . which they . . . had to their uses . . . on any the days of their said several treasons committed, perpetrated, or done, or at any time since. And that all and singular the said honours, castles, manors . . . shall be deemed, vested, and judged to be in the actual and real possession of your Majesty, without any office or inquisition thereof hereafter to be taken or found.

(2) The Scheme of Plantation. ["An Abstract of the Articles for repeopling and inhabiting the Province of Munster in Ireland" (21 June, 1586). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, pp. 84–9.]

First: Her Majesty doth assent that all the lands within the Province of Munster which ought to come to her hands by forfeiture, escheat, or concealment, shall be divided into seigniories of 12,000, 8,000, 6,000 and 4,000 acres, according to the plot to be signed by her Majesty. . . .

Her Majesty is pleased to grant an estate thereof in fee-farm to be holden of her Highness by fealty only, in free socage and not in chief, yielding for every seigniory of 12,000 acres in Cork, Tipperary and Waterford from Michaelmas, 1590, for three years next following a yearly rent of £33 6*s.* 8*d.* And for every inferior seigniory there rateably after that proportion . . . . In Limerick for every seigniory of 12,000 acres . . . £62 10*s.* . . . In Connelo, £75. . . . In Kerry and Desmond, £100.

And yielding for every of the said entire seigniories of 12,000 acres from Michaelmas 1593 for ever, double the rent which is formerly reserved for the first three years, and so rateably for the said inferior seigniories. . . .

Her Majesty is to discharge the same lands of all charges, leases and custodiams [1] before granted by her, and that the said lands and all that inhabit upon the same shall be freed of all cesses, taxations, exactions, and all other impositions, other than subsidies to be granted by Parliament after Michaelmas, 1593. . . .

That all bogs, heaths and wastes not before appertaining to any ploughland shall pass to the undertakers as common grounds, and not be reckoned as part of the rented grounds. . . .

A licence for the undertakers to transport into all countries being in amity with her Highness all commodities growing upon any their own lands without paying custom, subsidy, tonnage, poundage, or other duties for the same, for the space of five years after the Feast of St. Michael, 1590. . . .

[1] A custodiam lease was a grant from the Crown under the Exchequer seal, by which the custody of lands, etc., seized in the Queen's hands, was committed to some person as custodee or lessee thereof.

That none shall undertake for himself a greater portion than 12,000 acres. . . .

None of the English people to be there planted shall make any estate to any of the "mere" (pure) Irish . . . nor shall permit them to have the use or occupation thereof. . . .

That the undertakers shall be planted together as near as may be. . . .

That the heads of every family shall be born of English parents, and the heirs female, inheritable to any the same lands, shall marry with none but with persons born of English parents. . . . And no "mere" Irish to be permitted in any family there.

That after Michaelmas 1590, every farmer or freeholder shall have in readiness one horse for a light horseman and a man with furniture meet to serve as a horseman. And the principal undertakers of 12,000 acres shall have in readiness three horsemen with horses furnished for service, and six footmen with armour and weapon. . . . And every copyholder of 100 acres to have furniture for one footman. . . .

That for seven years next coming they shall be defended with garrisons at her Majesty's charge, unless in the meantime it be thought fit by her Majesty or desired by the colonies to have them removed. . . .

That for deciding of controversies growing amongst themselves, or pretended by the Irish in or to any the said lands, commissions shall be granted to meet persons to hear and determine the same; and for default of such determination there, then the same to be determined by her Majesty's Council in England. . . . That commissions shall be awarded to meet persons, as well to apportion the said several seigniories according to the meaning of the said plot, as upon consideration of the goodness of the soil, to limit how the several rents before reserved, shall be rated and apportioned. . . .

That the undertakers may grant estates of such portion of land as are limited for freeholders in fee-simple or fee-tail, to be holden of themselves as of the same seigniory, by such rents as the undertakers shall think good to reserve for the same. . . .

That the undertakers may keep courts baron within the said several seigniories in such manner as the lords of manors in England may do.

(3) Inducements to Munster Settlers

a) **Benefits offered to Younger Sons.** ["A Note of the Benefit that may grow in short time to the younger Houses of Gentlemen [in England] by this course, in perpetuity, taking the greatest Portion in the Plot" (Dec. 1585). Pr. by J. Lodge in *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica* (1772), I. 57–9.]

The gentleman undertaker to be the chief lord of so great a seigniory or parish, and to have the "manrode" (homage) of so

many families, and the disposing of so many good holdings, as the greatest portion set down in her Majesty's plot doth offer, is a thing fit for gentlemen of good behaviour and credit, and not for any man of inferior calling. To have the royalties and perquisites of courts within the whole, will be no doubt, a matter of good benefit to him in time to come, then to have £100 *per annum* clear of revenue, to be paid yearly, as the Queen's Majesty's rent is paid, and yet with good content to the taker, is a thing very easy to be performed: besides, the profit that he may make of his own demesne with the first year, with a reasonable stock, as is set down, may prove to be worth (*blank*), the second year more; and after the same shall come to full manurance, is very likely to prove worth (*blank*) *per annum* at the least; and surely considering the smallness of the charge which groweth, even in the first year, which is the greatest year of burden; and withal that a great part of the money required in the same, doth still remain to himself in stock, besides many other commodities, which the nature and fertility of that soil may bear, must needs prove this course very beneficial to the undertaker, if the same shall be well pursued, and effectually dealt in, and that he doth enter into the same with due consideration, as is meet. . . .

It is to be considered, the first year's charge overpassed, he may have the second year, corn and cattle sufficient for him and his family to spend, whereby he may be at no charge, by reason of necessary expenses in his household, that second year; and the third year, he will have to spare both corn, cattle, work, etc., which he may [find] a vent for at all times, either into England or other countries to his great benefit.

(*b*) Letter of the Privy Council to certain Somersetshire Gentlemen[1] (14 Feb., 1586). [*Cal. Carew MSS.*, II. 419.]

Her Majesty has entered into consideration of some plot for the repeopling of such parts of Munster in Ireland, as are now in her possession. The plot offers many advantages to the younger children, brethren and kinsfolk of gentlemen of good families, and to those of inferior calling and degrees. We therefore have made choice of you to treat with such of that county of Somerset as you find able and willing to accept of and undertake the same, and have given order to John Popham, Esq., Attorney-General [of England], to confer with you therein.

(*c*) Cost of Living in Ireland. [Robert Payne, "A Brief Description of Ireland" (1590), *Irish Archæological Society Tracts* (1841), pp. 6–7.]

Their soil for the most part is very fertile, and apt for whea

[1] "Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Devonshire, Lancashire and Cheshire seem to h

rye, barley . . . and all other grains and fruits that England anywise doth yield. There is much good timber in many places. . . . There is very rich and great plenty of iron stone . . . also there is great store of lead ore, and wood sufficient to maintain divers iron and lead works (with good husbandry) for ever. A barrel of wheat, or a barrel of bay salt containing $3\frac{1}{2}$ bushels of Winchester measure, is sold there for 4*s*; malt, peas, beans for 2*s*. 8*d*.; barley for 2*s*. 4*d*.; oats for 20*d*. A fresh salmon worth in London 10*s*. for 6*d*.; 24 herrings or 6 mackerel 6*d*.; sea breams, a fat hen, 30 eggs, a fat pig, 1 *lb*. of butter or 2 gallons of new milk for 1*d*. A red deer without the skin, for 2*s*. 6*d*; a fat beef for 13*s*. 4*d*. A fat mutton for 18*d*.

There be great store of wild swans, cranes, pheasants, partridges . . . and all other fowls much more plentiful than in England. You may buy a dozen of quails for 3*d*., a dozen of woodcocks for 4*d*., and all other fowls rateably. Oysters, mussels, cockles and samphire about the sea coasts are to be had for the gathering, great plenty. . . . You may buy the best heifers there with calves at their feet, for 20*s*. a piece, which are nothing inferior to the better sort of Lincolnshire breed. Their chief horses are of as great price as in England, but cart horses, mares and little hackneys are of a very small price. . . . You may keep a better house in Ireland for £50 a year than in England for £200 a year.[1]

(4) The Irish Claims. [Mr. Solicitor-General Roger Wilbraham to the Lords Commissioners for Munster Causes (11 Sept., 1587). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, p. 406.]

. . . At Cork, Kilmallock and Clonmel, we spent five weeks in hearing the claims and titles to her Majesty's lands found by office. We had very many bills and fair evidences showed us, whereby it appeareth the Irishry (especially by their daily feoffments to uses) have practised as many fraudulent shifts for preserving their lands from forfeiture as in England; and albeit their evidences be fair and very law-like without exception, yet because fraud is secret and seldom found for her Majesty by jury, we have put the undertakers, for the most part, in possession, who, dwelling but half a year upon the lands, shall have better intelligences to discover the false practices than the commissioners can possibly learn out. They plead their causes by lawyers, who almost all of them in those parts have purchased titles against her Majesty, so as we have had much trouble to pacify and content them in some

been specially, but not exclusively . . . favoured by solicitations to take part in the great work of 'regenerating' Ireland."—Dunlop, "The Plantation of Munster," *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, III. 256.

[1] This pamphlet was drawn up for the benefit of twenty-five "partners," for whom Payne was undertaker in County Cork. Payne was a Nottinghamshire man, already known in England as a writer upon agricultural subjects.

reasonable sort by persuasion of further hearing hereafter, and full allowance of their good titles.

They practise to prove bastardy, wrongs and disseizins in the rebels, to disprove thereby her Majesty's titles, which is nothing but the inquest of 12 jurors by office. We have directly refused for this time to take proofs by witnesses, for that admitted, her Majesty should have little land left; and yet by rejecting it, no doubt some shall have manifest wrong and we altogether unable to discern which be the true witnesses, whereby some mislike hath grown and been conceived against us, the commissioners, some few causes being manifest without exception, or that could be confounded to her Majesty's avail, we have ended.

[Lord Maurice Roche, Viscount of Fermoy to Sir Francis Walsingham (15 Oct., 1588). *Cal. S.P. Ireland,* pp. 59–60.]

Right Honourable, my duty remembered, may it please the same to be advertised that howbeit myself with many other suitors of this province of [Munster] had great expectations of justice, with favour and expedition, at the hands of the commissioners, whom her Majesty for the ease of suitors hath appointed to repair hither, yet when they came we found the success of our suits to proceed and fall out quite contrary, for in all their proceedings only one petition for half a ploughland, to one of the traitors, the late arch-rebel, the Earl of Desmond's servant was allowed, in respect of some service, being indeed one that was of the chiefest in action of rebellion, against her Highness with his said master, neither any other suitor besides obtained one foot of land, or any redress or remedy, in anything he complained of, whether his land were found by office or otherwise intruded upon by the undertakers without any office or colour of right, so as we are left entangled and subject to the suppressions and heavy hand of the undertakers without redress as before, and everyone discontented. And albeit the justness of the causes of divers and their service required and merited favour to be extended in their suits, especially those whom her Majesty by her Grace's letters willed to be favoured, yet no suitor, his cause being never so just and lawful, his forwardness in service never so apparent, or his letters never so gracious and effect[ual] could esteem or judge the success of his suit to be anything the better, for any bill that wanted one word, either of form or matter, that was abated and rejected, and yet would they permit a new to be made, and those that wanted neither had no redress at all, whereby the poor people and subjects, by reason of that hard course taken, when as they chiefly expected to be reformed according to her Majesty's undoubted pleasure, are now very much dis-

couraged, and in a manner fallen into despair, being not able for want of ability to have recourse unto her Highness.[1]

[Sir William Herbert[2] to Burghley (20 Oct., 1588). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, p. 62.]

Our pretence in the enterprise of plantation was to establish in these parts piety, justice, inhabitation and civility, with comfort and good example to the parts adjacent. Our drift now is, being here possessed of land, to extort, make the state of things turbulent, and live by prey and by pay.

(5) Lands of the Undertakers. [An Abstract of all the names of the undertakers [in Munster], the several counties, the quantity of their lands and their yearly rents (1591). *Cal. Carew MSS.*, III. 61–2.]

Waterford. Sir Chr. Hatton, late Lord Chancellor of England, hath in demesne and rentable lands (at the rate of 428½ acres, English measure, to a ploughland) 10,910 acres; yearly rent from Mich., 1591, for three years, £30 3*s.* 9*d.* sterling and from Mich., 1594, in perpetuity, £60 7*s.* 9*d.* sterling. Sir Walter Raleigh[3], rentable lands, number unknown; yearly rent from Mich., 1591, for three years, 50 marks sterling, and afterwards 100 marks.

Kerry. Sir Edward Denny, 6,000 acres; rent for three years £50, afterwards £100. He hath also the collection of chief rents in his patent to the sum of £300; also 80 beeves. . . . The rents payable by Sir William Herbert, etc., are specified.

Cork. Sir Warham St. Leger, Hugh Cuffe . . . Sir Thomas Norris . . . Edmund Spenser,[4] etc.

Limerick. Sir William Courtney, Francis Barkley, Sir George Bourcher, etc.

Tipperary. Thomas, Earl of Ormonde and Ossory.

Totals. Acres 202,099. Rents £1,976 7*s.* 5½*d.* sterling after Michaelmas, 1594.[5]

[1] "The Lord Roche is married to James Fitzmaurice's sister. He is greatly grieved that her Majesty's right is looked into in his country. His estate is very poor."—Sir Thos. Norris to the Lord Deputy and Council (1589), *Cal. S.P.I.*, p. 346. See Bagwell, *Irel. under the Tudors*, III. 198.

[2] Heir male of the first Earl of Pembroke, and one of the most prominent of the undertakers in Munster.

[3] Sir Walter Raleigh later obtained some 40,000 acres in Cork, Waterford and Tipperary. The grant made to him included Youghal with manorial rights, and the salmon fishery of the Blackwater.

[4] Spenser obtained 3,028 acres in County Cork; his property included the old Desmond Castle of Kilcolman, three miles from Doneraile, at which he resided, and where he wrote a portion of the *Faerie Queene*.

[5] See *Cal. Car. MSS.*, IV. xxix., VI. xxviii.

(6) Deficiencies of the Settlers. [Robert Payne, "A Brief Description of Ireland" (1590), *Irish Archæological Society Tracts* (1841), pp. 7–8.]

The worser sort of undertakers which have seigniories of her Majesty, have done much hurt in the country, and discouraged many from the voyage; for they have enticed many honest men over, promising them much but performing nothing, no not so much as to pay their servants and workmen wages. They will not let any term, above 21 years or 3 lives, and they demand for rent 12*d.* the acre: this is so far from the meaning of her Majesty, as appeareth by her Highness's grant, that (as I think) they have, or shortly will make, all their estates void. They find such profit from the Irish tenants, who gave them the fourth sheaf of all their corn, and 16*d.* yearly for a beast's grass, besides divers other Irish accustomed duties. So that they care not although they never place any Englishman there. But the better sort of undertakers being many good knights and gentlemen of great worship, do seek by all means possible to plant their lands with Englishmen according to the meaning of her Majesty's grant: they offer to any man either 300 acres of land in fee farm, or 400 acres by lease for 100 years for 6*d.* the acre without any fine.

[Memorandum concerning the affairs of Munster (1598). "The Causes of the Misery of the Englishry," *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, pp. 429–30.]

First of all, I note their great wickedness formerly rooted, not purged by change of air, but found still procuring the wrath of God, according to that of the poet, *coelum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt . . .* they change the air but not the mind that cross the seas. Notwithstanding many wise, godly, and virtuous, yet there were out of England, and other countries, traitors, murderers, thieves, coseners, cony-catchers (cheats), shifting mates, runners away with other men's wives, some having two or three wives, persons divorced living loosely, bankrupts, carnal gospellers, Papists, Puritans and Brownists.[1] If the enemy, by the permission of God, had not come with a scourge against them (as Josephus said some time of the Jews in Jerusalem), it is like with other plagues, the earth would have gaped, and swallowed them up.

Secondly, division, contention, and emulation among themselves, a great cause of their misery. They could not be content

[1] "Ireland for these many years hath been the receptacle for our English runagates, that for their misled lives in England, do come running over into Ireland. Some for murder, some for theft; some that have spent themselves in riot and excess are driven over for debt, some come running over with other men's goods, some with other men's wives, but a great number now lately, that are more hurtful than all the rest, and those be recusants."—Barnaby Rich, *The Irish Hubbub* (1617), p. 51.

to scrape from the Irishry, but one inveighing and suing the other, troubling the courts, and disquieting the country. The English gentlemen in Leix and Offaly contended among themselves. In Munster they jarred one with another, so that the Mayor of Cork gave forth that most suits depending before him were between the Englishry. . . .

One great fault they found in the President of that province, that, if they had just cause of complaint against the Irishry, the President, laying aside English sympathy, favoured the Irish more than the English; for he brought somewhat in his hand, and the English came empty, and empty he went away. They were so imperious, that every gentleman would be in commission of the peace; the Lord Chancellor's fault was to grant it. There was one in Munster, a great swearer, they called him "Justice Gods Wounds"; another, killing of Irish cows, and selling hides and tallow, they called him "Justice Tripes"; another, having no land, but a stock of money, hunting and hawking, and gaming, and coming once a year, they called him "Justice When-Ye-Will." Such insufficiency there was in their service.[1]

(7) The Rebellion of 1598.

(*a*) Attack on the Munster Settlers. [Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary* (1617), II. i. 25–6.]

Many of the Munster men now first about October, 1598, broke into rebellion, and joined themselves with Tyrone's forces, spoiled the country, burnt the villages, and pulled down the houses and castles of the English, against whom (especially the female sex) they committed all abominable outrages. . . . The Munster rebellion broke out like a lightning, for in one month's space almost all the Irish were in rebellious arms, and the English were murdered, or stripped and banished. Thus having inflamed Munster with the fire of rebellion and leaving this sedition to be cherished and increased . . . the Ulster forces returned back to Tyrone; the infection which Munster men had drawn from the corrupted parts in rebellion, did more and more spread itself, so as the old practices long held by the arch-traitor Tyrone to induce them to a revolt, now fully attained their wished effect. To the working whereof in the hearts of the seditious, there wanted not many strong motives, as the hatred which the Geraldines bear to those English undertakers (of whom I formerly spake, in Desmond's war) which possessed their ancestor's lands; also the

[1] A Royal Commission reported in 1622 that many of the undertakers had alienated their lands to Irish, some were absentees, those who resided on their lands neglected to provide themselves with arms and had contravened the terms of the plantation in various other ways.—Add. MSS. Brit. Mus., 1756, f. 97.

encouragement they received by the good success of the rebels, and no less the hope of pardon upon the worst event. And to speak truth, Munster undertakers above mentioned, were in great part cause of this defection, and of their own fatal miseries. For whereas they should have built castles and brought over colonies of English, and have admitted no Irish tenant, but only English, these and like covenants were in no part performed by them. Of whom the men of best quality never came over, but made profit of the land; others brought no more English than their own families, and all entertained Irish servants and tenants, which were now the first to betray them. If the covenants had been kept by them, they of themselves might have made 2,000 able men, whereas the Lord President could not find above 200 of English birth among them, when the rebels first entered the Province. Neither did these gentle undertakers make any resistance to the rebels, but left their dwellings and fled to walled towns; yea, when there was such danger in flight, as greater could not have been in defending their own, whereof many of them had woeful experience, being surprised with their wives and children in flight.

(*b*) Lament of Edmund Spenser. [*A Brief Note of Ireland* (1598), Spenser's *Works* (ed. Grosart), I. 538–48.]

Out of the ashes of desolation and wasteness of this your wretched Realm of Ireland, vouchsafe most mighty Empress our dread sovereign, to receive the voices of a few most unhappy ghosts . . . which lie buried in the bottom of oblivion, far from the light of your gracious sunshine. . . .

Surely should any stranger hear that the English nation so mighty and puissant, so far abroad in a country of your own dominion, lying hard under the lap of England, should by so base and barbarous a people as the Irish, so untrained in wars, so inexperienced of all government and good policies, be so suddenly trodden down and blown away almost with a blast; they would for ever condemn us, not knowing the means how the same is come to pass. Therefore it is not amiss to consider by what means and evil occasions all this mischief is happened; the rather, for the better redressing thereof and avoiding the like hereafter. Some think that the first plot by which the late undertakers of your Majesty's lands here in Munster were planted, was not well instituted nor grounded upon sound advertisement and knowledge of the country; for that more care was therein taken for profit and utility than for strength or safety. For indeed what hope was there that a sort of husbandmen trained up in peace, placed abroad in sundry places, dispersed as your land lay dispersed, should be able to maintain and defend themselves against a people newly

recovered out of the relics of rebellion and yet practising arms and warlike exercises, without due provision therefor which is, that first rebellious people should have been utterly disarmed and for ever bound from the use of the like hereafter and instead thereof be compelled unto other more civil trades of life; which they should have been settled in by such sure establishment that they should never have been able to have swerved from the same.

But the deviser thereof (i.e. the settlement of Munster) perhaps thought that the civil example of the English being set before them, and their daily conversing with them, would have brought them by dislike of their own savage life to the liking and embracing of better civility. But it is far otherwise, for instead of following them, they fly them, and most hatefully shun them, for two causes; first, because they have ever been brought up licentiously and to live as each one listeth, which they esteem half happiness, so that now to be brought into any better order they account it to be restrained of their liberty and extreme wretchedness; secondly, because they naturally hate the English, so that their fashions they also hate. The cause of this original hate is for that they were conquered of the English, the memory whereof is yet fresh among them, and the desire both of revenge and also of recovery of their lands, is daily revived and kindled amongst them by their lords and counsellors: for which they both hate ourselves and our laws and customs. Therefore in the first institution [it] should have been provided for, that, before new buildings were erected, the old should have been plucked down. For to think to join and patch them both together in an equality of state is impossible and will never be without danger of a great downfall, such as now is happened. How then, should the Irish have been quite rooted out? That were too bloody a course; and yet their continual rebellious deeds deserve little better. But then, when this province was planted, they were so weak that they might have been framed and fashioned to anything; then should they have been disarmed for ever and strong garrisons set over them, which they should have been forced at their own charges to maintain, without any charge to your Majesty, since their disloyal dealings were the cause thereof. Which they would then have been most glad to bear; by which means your Majesty might have had even out of this province, 3,000 or 4,000 soldiers continually maintained unto you, whom you might at all times have used to your service, with continual supply and change of new. And this I undertake . . . should have been afforded you with as little grievance and burden of the country as now they bear already, for the charge which now this province beareth . . . is no less than would maintain you so great a garrison. . . . This at the time of the late placing of inhabitants here might have easily

been established, but the occasion was then let slip when this country was weak and waste; yet since the like is likely and must of necessity ensue again after the subduing of this present general rebellion, it is expedient to be minded before it be to be effected.

But in the mean season, we poor wretches, which now bear the burden of all oversights, pour out our most humble and piteous plaint unto your most excellent Majesty, that it may please you to cast your gracious mind unto the careful regard of our miseries; which being quite banished out of our inhabitance and the lands upon which we have spent all the small portion of our abilities in building and erecting such trades of husbandries as we have betaken, have now nothing left but to cry unto you for timely aid, before we be brought to utter destruction, and our wretched lives (which only now remain unto us) be made the prey of dogs and savage wild beasts.[1]

(8) Sir Richard Boyle, the First and Great Earl of Cork

(*a*) Grant of Lands in Kerry, Cork, and Waterford (1604).

[*A Repertory of the Inrolments on the Patent Rolls of Chancery in Ireland; commencing with the Reign of King James I* (ed. J. C. Erck), I. 92–5.][2]

It appearing that Queen Elizabeth, for peopling the province of Munster, granted for ever unto Sir Walter Raleigh, knt., now lately attainted, and then one of the principal undertakers of the said province, the barony and manor of Inchiquin, in Co. Cork, with divers other lands, etc., who, for the more commodious planting and strengthening himself in the said province, and to the end he might be the better enabled to re-people the same with civil English people, did purchase divers other possessions adjoining the said lands; all which, being wasted and depopulated by the late rebellion in that province, the late Sir Walter, in consideration of £1,500 English, sold, as well as all his other lands, etc., within Ireland, unto Sir Richard Boyle, for ever; by force whereof, the said Sir Richard possessed the same, and with very great travail and charge hath drawn over thither so many English subjects, as do now fully re-inhabit those lands, to the great strength and security of all the neighbouring borders. And, having paid the said £1,500 and become suitor, to be the immediate tenant and patentee of the same; there was granted unto the said Sir Richard Boyle, knt.,

[1] Spenser's castle of Kilcolman was burnt over his head in the rebellion; he fled to Cork with his wife and children, and was soon afterwards in London, where he died on the 16th Jan., 1599, worn out by the anxieties and hardships which he had undergone. See p. 171 *n.* 1.

[2] This grant is given in full in the *Cal. Pat. Rolls. Irel., Jas. I*, pp. 41–2, xxi. Boyle purchased Raleigh's Irish estates in 1604.

on the 10th May . . . the whole barony, manor and castle of Inchiquin, with five ploughlands adjoining . . . one water mill and water-course, one salmon weir . . . with the lands of "Cooly-crynnaght" . . . with all the rents, customs, duties and demands . . . as they were due and payable to Gerald, late Earl of Desmond. . . . The castle or manor of Mogilla (Mogeely) . . . the late house of Black Friars near Youghal. . . . The manor, castle, lands and town of Lismore . . . with all castles, lands, knight's fees, franchises, regalities, granges, commons, moors, mountains, woods, free-warrens, mines, quarries, rents, services of free and customary tenants, wards, marriages, escheats . . . courts baron and leet . . . fairs, markets, tolls, customs, wrecks of the sea, goods of felons and fugitives, rectories, tithes, glebe lands, etc.

To hold to Sir Richard Boyle, his heirs and assigns, for ever in fee farm, at the rent of £76 7*s.* 11½*d.* sterling . . . in free and common socage, in as ample manner as Gerald, late Earl of Desmond, John Fitzgerald *alias* Sir John of Desmond, attainted, Sir Walter Raleigh, attainted, or any other person, held [the] same.

(*b*) **Success of the Earl as a Settler.** [Letter from Sir Francis Annesley[1] to Sir Humphrey May (1613).[2] Pr. in *Lismore Papers*[3] (ed. Grosart), 2nd Ser., I. 158–9.]

Sir, you may please to remember that at my last being at London, when you were sometimes pleased to discourse with me of this Kingdom, and falling upon the Province of Munster, I told you then simply by way of conference, how much this worthy gentleman (Sir Richard Boyle) had deserved in the well performance of several royal English plantations, which he had made upon his own lands: I do now again ingeniously declare to you and I am able to give good instances for it, that no subject hath or will within the compass of forty years past and to come, deserve so well as Sir Richard Boyle hath done in his course of building, enclosing, and planting with English, and altogether after the English manner; insomuch as all his lands are planted with English colonies, even in the midst of the Irish countries, and he hath more and better sort of English tenants than any man in Ireland . . . He hath achieved an extraordinary good fortune by his own endeavours in this Kingdom, for which he is envied by many. . . . For my own part I protest if his estate were six times as much as it is, I should think him very deserving of it, for he employs the fruit of it altogether to the strengthening and beautifying of the commonwealth, and if all others who have advanced their fortunes in Ireland would do the like, this Kingdom would quickly flourish.

[1] Later Lord Mountnorris.

[2] An influential courtier appointed Surveyor of the Court of Wards, 1618.

[3] Selections from the private and public (or State) correspondence of Sir Richard Boyle, created Earl of Cork in 1620.

[The Lord Deputy and Council to the English Privy Council (6 April, 1628). *Cal. State Papers, Ireland,* pp. 321–2.]

He is a member of our table, and as he is about to proceed to England we give him our recommendation. In the defence of the country he has been "forward, painful and diligent," and has been so successful with his anglicising policy of plantation that he can draw more fighting men into the field than anyone else in Munster. He has built and fortified a whole town, many castles, valuable bridges, and churches for the worship of God, almshouses and schools. He employs hundreds of workmen, has created several corporations of Protestant English traders and has lent money for the King's service. We heartily recommend him.[1] . . .

LXVI. SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ATTEMPTS TO CONQUER ULSTER

(1) Sir Thomas Smith and the Ards. [Tract by Thomas Smith on the Colonisation of Ards in the County of Down (1572). Pr. in G. Hill's *MacDonnells of Antrim,* pp. 408–14.]

The Ard, which is my demand, and the nearest part of all Ireland to Lancashire, and the east part of England, I take to be a piece of ground as easy to be won, inhabited, safely kept and defended as any place within the Realm of Ireland. . . . England was never that can be heard of, fuller of people than it is at this day, and the dissolution of abbeys hath done two things of importance herein. It hath doubled the number of gentlemen and marriages, whereby cometh daily more increase of people, and such younger brothers as were wont to be thrust into abbeys, there to live an idle life, since that is taken from them must now seek some other place to live in. By this means there are many lack abode, and few dwellings empty. With that our law, which giveth all to the elder brother, furthereth much my purpose. And the excessive expense, both in diet and apparel, maketh that men which have but small portions, cannot maintain themselves in the emulation of this world with like countenance as the grounded rich can do—thus stand we at home.

Then went I to examine the estate of countries abroad, and found that all the countries adjacent round about were as well peopled, or better than we be, or else more barren. . . . Ireland is the Queen's inheritance, many countries there, as that which I demand, given to her by Act of Parliament of the same Realm; others hers by descent, the which lie almost desolate. To inhabit and reform so barbarous a nation as that is, and to bring them to

[1] The Earl rebuilt the towns which had been ruined in the Desmond wars, and founded the frontier towns of Bandon, Clonakilty, Enniskeen and Castletown to hold the settled country secure against the raids of the Irish of West Carberry and Kerry.

the knowledge and [? of] law, were both a godly and commendable deed, and a sufficient work for our age.

All these things happening together in my time . . . I judged surely, that God did make apt and prepare this nation for such a purpose. There resteth only to persuade the multitude already destined thereto, with will and desire to take the matter in hand. Let us therefore, use the persuasions which Moses used to Israel, . . . and tell them that they shall go to possess a land that floweth with milk and honey, a fertile soil truly if there be any in Europe, whether it be manured to corn or left to grass. There is timber, stone, plaster, and slate commodious for building everywhere abundant, a country full of springs, rivers and lakes both small and great, full of excellent fish and fowl, no part of the country distant above 8 miles from a most plentiful sea, or land water able to bear load.

You will say . . . but men are more moved by peculiar gain, than of respect they have to common profit. Marry . . . they shall have their peculiar portions in that fruitful soil, being but as a booty to be divided among them. And this shall be the quantity which a footman shall have . . . a ploughland which containeth 120 acres Irish, but you will understand it better by English measure; a ploughland shall contain 255 acres of arable ground. Then can there not lie in any country almost . . . so much arable land together, but there will lie also intermingled therewith slopes, "slips and bottoms"[1] fit for pasture and meading (meadowing) and commodious to be annexed to the same ploughland, so that the whole may amount to 300 acres at the least; I pray you tell me if you had so much good ground in Essex, would you not take it for a pretty farm, and yet a horseman shall have double, *videlicet*, 600 acres of ground. . . . I believe you would call that in Essex a good manor, and yet these are the least divisions I purpose to make, saving a ploughland or two in every parish, that I think good to divide to labourers and artificers. . . .

All that land of the Ard and other places which her Majesty hath given unto my father and me,[2] we are purposed to divide unto such as shall be contented either to accompany me, or be at the charges of a soldier . . . in this journey, reserving some small thing of a ploughland to ourselves, as a chief rent, contenting ourselves rather to be accounted the motioners and ring leaders of so many English families . . . than forcing of any gain, which, while some in the like matches have groped too narrowly after, they have marred the whole enterprise. Marry, he that will look to have the said lands at the rent and rates, which I have already told

[1] i.e. strips of land and low-lying ground.

[2] This tract was published anonymously, but appears to have been written by Thomas, son of Sir Thomas Smith. See *Cal. Car. MSS.* I. 419 and H. Hore in *Ulst. Journ. Archael.* (1861) ix. 177.

you, must be at the charges of finding himself, or some other in his room, for the winning and defence of the country, first to come furnished of all things necessary, be he footman or horseman. Thus when all my company shall come furnished, with armour and weapons, as soldiers ought to be, what is there then lacking to this voyage? Marry, shipping for transportation: when we are there, corn and other victual for the first year, ships and boats to fish for our better victualing, corn to put in the ground against the next year, ploughs and all things necessary thereto. For I mind to have that done also of common charges that if it be possible we may have no more, or else very little levying of money for the next year's victual: but that the common stock may serve this, I assure you am I purposed to do, and to play the good husband with the company's stock, that it may reach far, and yet are there many more things to be provided, as powder, some furniture of armour in store, iron pieces and of all munition belonging to the wars, yea and yet more, as all manner of things belonging to building and fortification, with the carpenters, masons, smiths, etc., who will look for wages. . . . And because all these provisions might be orderly done, and nothing in time of need be for to seek, I have taken it in hand, therefore to have of every man, according to the rate of land he looketh for, £10 of one footman, and £20 of a horseman, so to see all necessaries abundantly provided for. If less would suffice, I would take less, for I mean at the year's end, that the treasurer shall yield account, and what is not spent shall serve the second year, and the less levied of the company towards the provision of the said necessaries. After which time there is no manner of doubt but the country will yield to serve our turn sufficiently, without any more levying, and as for them that will deliver corn or any other thing necessary to the rate of the said sums, it shall be accepted in lieu of money. . . .

Grant it, will you say, that he for his part be such an one, but all those whom he shall have assembled out every part of this Realm, shall not be of so good a nature, as peradventure he is of: some be disdainful, proud and insolent, some covetous, and others of quarrelsome disposition, a few of these are enough to disturb the whole company. Quarrels begun of small trifles, and by parts taking, come in the end great matters, besides in the partition, one will be angry because he was not preferred to that commodious seat or this good dwelling, and because he hath not so much land as another; but of this, hope I also to satisfy you, for Master Smith mindeth first to give unto every man so much at the least as he promiseth by the order he proposeth to give out, and for which the soldier was willing to adventure his part, then can he not find fault with the quantity; notwithstanding to him that deserveth well in this journey, he will I am sure be more liberal,

for I know he giveth willingly. The place where their land shall lie must fall to them by lot, as it shall be their chance first or last to be served, from a place appointed to begin at before the lots so drawn, so can he not mislike of his chance nor be angry for the place which fell not to him by any man's appointing. And to take away all occasion of quarrels, mutinies or other disorder, that might otherwise ensue, he hath promised to cause one book of orders or discipline to be drawn, by the advice of the best captains, and shall be read unto the whole company; which after it is allowed and agreed to by them, shall be kept safely as the statutes of this journey, and according to the letter of that book, shall all misdemeanours of the camp be punished, for every person abiding in the same shall be solemnly sworn to observe every article and ordinance contained therein, and to his power assist and aid to see them duly punished, that shall offend contrary to the tenor of the said book. . . .

Adventure therefore boldly with him. . . . This is the effect of all that I have with thus many arguments gone about to persuade you, that you should employ two or three years of your youth in that most honourable service that can be in our times done for England, therefore to receive thanks, estimation, and a profitable inheritance, besides the contentation of mind in your possibility, to be the patron and first founder of a family in that country which in time to come by God's favour, may spring up to great authority. Fare you well.

(2) Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex

(*a*) Grant made by the Queen ([May] 1573). [*Cal. Carew MSS.*, I. 441–3.]

The grant of the dominion of Claneboy, (the) Route, (the) Glynnes, Rathlin, and all lands, etc., belonging to those countries in the Earldom of Ulster, and all lands, tenements, and hereditaments from Knockfergus Bay (Belfast Lough), including the river of the Belfast, directly to the next part of the Lough, and from the Lough to the Bann, and so to the sea along the Bann, and from the Bann all about the land by the sea coast, including also the Isle of Rathlin, and all the isles upon the sea coast till Knockfergus Bay, and all lands within that circuit, with the liberty of several fishings of the Bann and Lough Neagh adjoining to the said countries, and liberty of free fishing in all the Lough; except the castle and town of Knockfergus (Carrickfergus) with the lands and territories to the said town appertaining; and also except to the Castle of Knockfergus so many acres to be annexed to the said castle, not being parcel of the said land belonging to the town, as the Queen's Majesty shall appoint, so as the same exceed not

the number of 1,000 acres Irish ; and except all the lands belonging to the town of Knockfergus and unto the townsmen there, according to their charters and rights ; and also except all mines of gold and silver, and copper mines containing silver ; to hold by knight's service of the Queen as of the Castle of Knockfergus, yielding £100 yearly after seven years from the time of the grant.

The Earl, his heirs and assigns to have wood for housebote (repair of a house) and other necessaries for building in Killultagh for 20 years.

The Earl, his tenants and residents in those lands to be free from all cess, impositions, taxes, customs during 7 years, and after from all cesses for ever, saving such as shall be by Parliament assessed, and for general hostings to the defence of the Realm or the country. . . .

Licence to the Earl and his heirs to alien to men of English birth all the lands in the said country, to hold of himself as he will ; saving 6,000 acres to be laid out and annexed to such houses as he shall think meet, to be holden of the Queen as the Earl holdeth the whole.

Authority for 12 years, to divide, appoint, and make hundreds, corporate towns, villages, hamlets, etc., in the same country ; and to give names to the same as additional to their old names. To build castles, fortresses and bulwarks for 20 years, and to place ordnance ; and for 12 years to make markets and fairs, and to have the profits thereof. To constitute and have leets and court barons, and to have all waifs and strays, felons' goods, wrecks, etc. . . .

Licence to transport all merchandises of that country into all countries being in amity with the Queen, without paying any customs or duties, for 7 years. . . .

Licence for 10 years to carry armour, money, victuals and necessaries out of England into that country. . . .

(*b*) **Difficulties of Plantation in Ireland.** [A letter from Essex to Queen Elizabeth (2 Nov., 1573). Pr. in *Lives and Letters of the Devereux, Earls of Essex* (ed. by the Hon. W. B. Devereux), I. 45–6.]

I have forborne, since my arrival in this land, to trouble you with my letters, because I was not without hope to have broken my silence with such advertisements as might have been grateful to your Majesty . . . nevertheless, two great disadvantages I find in this little time of my continuance here. The first by the adventurers, of whom the most part, having not forgotten the delicacies of England, and wanting resolute minds to endure the travail of a year or two in this waste country, have forsaken me feigning excuses to repair home, where I hear they give forth speeches in dislike of the enterprise to the discouragement of others

The second, that the common hired soldiers, both horsemen and footmen, mislike of their pay, and allege that they were not pressed by commission, but by persuasion, and therefore ought not to be detained in this service longer than they like to stay. This is not hidden from the Irish, who are also fully persuaded that this war is altogether mine . . . and therefore . . . have confederated to stand in arms, which they would never do with your Majesty unless it were in respect of me; whereby I must acknowledge the weakness of myself, and so, consequently, of any subject that shall attempt any great service. . . . Therefore my humble petition is, that . . . some means may be devised that all the officers, soldiers and dealers in this war may seem to be your Majesty's; the war yours, and the reformation your Majesty's, and I only the instrument and executor of this service; whereby all men shall put on better contentations and new courages, or else I with better warrant may punish the mutiny, and the base ignobility of the soldiers' minds.[1]

LXVII. THE PLANTATION IN ULSTER

(1) Marshal Bagnal's Description of Ulster, 1586.[2] [Pr. in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology* (1854), II, 145–60.

The Province of Ulster lieth in the further part north of the Realm.[3] It is divided from Meath with the River Boyne upon the south-east part, and with the Brenny which is O'Reilly's country on the south part,[4] and on the south-west part it boundeth upon Connacht, namely upon O'Rourke's country, and O'Connor Sligo; the rest is altogether environed with the sea. It containeth in it 9 counties, that is to say, 3 of ancient and old making, and 6 made (or rather to be made) new; the names of them are these: Louth, Down, Antrim and Monaghan, Fermanagh, Tyrone, Donegal, Coleraine, Armagh.

[1] This letter will give some idea of the difficulties of individual colonisation in Ireland. See another addressed by Essex to the Lord Treasurer, on the 8th March, 1574, quoted in *Lives and Letters*, I. 53–62, in which he complains of the opposition offered to his enterprise by the Lords of the Pale, and of the lack of provisions, and asks to be discharged of the government of Ulster.

[2] Sir Henry Bagnal was at this time Marshal of Queen Elizabeth's forces in Ireland, and resided at Newry. This paper was drawn up to prove that there was an insufficiency of "wardable" castles in Ulster in view of the strength of the Earl of Tyrone and of the danger from Spain. The manuscript is endorsed by Lord Burghley. See p. 262 *n.* 3.

[3] For a contemporary map of Ulster, see Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* (1611), Bk. 4, ch. v. See also Bagwell, *Irel. under the Tudors*, III. 244.

[4] The Brenny, the O'Reilly's country, became the County of Cavan. "The Cavan," wrote Chichester in Oct., 1608, "is a spacious and large county, very populous, and the people hardy and warlike. The chief of them are the O'Reilly's, of which surname there are sundry septs, most of them cross and opposite one unto another." *Cal. S.P.I.* (14 Oct., 1608), p. 54. The County of Cavan was one of the six counties which were confiscated for plantation.

The County of Louth lieth between the River of Boyne and the Haven of Carlingford; upon the east part lieth the sea, upon the west it confineth upon very barbarous countries, namely upon the Brenny, "Clanechye," Farney, MacMahon's country and the Fews: by mean whereof it is exposed to the often incursions of many lewd and disordered people, who keep a good part of this country (lying next them) waste. It is part of the English Pale, and beareth in contribution with the other English counties. . . . Corporations in this county are these: Drogheda, Dundalk, Ardee and Carlingford. . . .

The County of Monaghan containeth these countries:[1] Uriel, Dartree, Loughtee and Trough. The chief captain thereof is one Sir Rory MacMahon, who hath been sometime contributary to Tirlough O'Neill[2] and now is left to the government of the Earl of Tyrone, yet of himself is very desirous to yield only to the Queen, and to be governed after the English manner. He is able to make of his own nation, and other his followers, 100 horsemen and 400 footmen. Buildings in his country are none, save certain old defaced monasteries.

The County of Fermanagh[3] containeth all Fermanagh, Termon-magrath and Termon-amongan. The captain of all this county is Sir Connor Maguire, left always to the commandment and rule of Tirlough O'Neill, and yet he is very desirous to depend on the Queen.[4] He is able to make (and most of his own nation) 80 horsemen, 240 shot, and 300 kerne. His country for the most part is very strong of wood and bog, especially near the great lake called Erne, wherein is divers islands full of woods. Buildings in this country none of importance.

The County of Tyrone[5] containeth all the land from Blackwater to Lifford; the chief captain there is Tirlough O'Neill (save) that of late the half thereof and more, by a composition made by the now Lord Deputy, is let to the Earl of Tyrone for certain years, for which he should pay to Tirlough 1,000 marks by year, which hath been detained by the said Earl. Where through it is like that some trouble will arise between them or it be long. . . . The principal septs of this country are these; first the O'Neills, who most are all horsemen; the Clan Donnells all gallowglass; the O'Donnells, a very strong sept and much affected to Shane

[1] Monaghan was not included in the plantation in Ulster. See p. 56.

[2] Tirlough Luineach O'Neill became Lord of Tyrone in 1567. He was on the whole unfriendly to the Government. Hugh O'Neill, admitted earl in 1585, was at this time under English patronage. He was inaugurated O'Neill in 1593.

[3] Included in the plantation.

[4] In 1594 this same Irishman would not suffer any man to pass through his country who wore an English hat or cloak.—*Descr. of Irel.* (1598), ed. Hogan, p. 25. In Tyrone's rebellion some of the Maguires joined the Irish alliance, but Connor Roe was for the Queen, and received a grant in the plantation.

[5] Included in the plantation.

O'Neill's sons; the Hagans and the Quins; so as the whole force of this country may make 300 horsemen and 1,500 footmen. But it is to be considered that always the strength and greatness of the O'Neills stood chiefest upon bands of Scots, whom they caused their "uriaghts" (vassals) to victual and pay.[1] Buildings upon Tirlough's part is the Castle of Strabane, wherein he most commonly dwelleth, and the New Castle. Upon the Earl's part is Dungannon, and a defaced castle built by Shane O'Neill upon the Blackwater, called Benburb.

The County of Donegal[2] containeth all Tyrconnel, which is all the lands belonging unto O'Donnell and that surname, and all O'Dogherty's country. O'Donnell is captain and governor of Tyrconnel, the chief strength of whom standeth most upon two septs of people called the O'Gallaghers and MacSweeneys, who are all gallowglass for the most part. He is able to make above 200 horsemen and 1,300 footmen. Between him and O'Neill hath been continual wars for the Castle of Lifford,[3] and the lands thereabouts, lying between both their countries bordering upon Lough Foyle, which by means of their dissension is kept altogether waste and uninhabited, neither is there any dwelling in the castle.[4] O'Dogherty's country is a promontory almost environed with the sea, namely with Lough Swilly on the south part and Lough Foyle on the north. It is governed by a captain called O'Dogherty, who being not of power able to defend himself, is forced to contribute both to O'Neill and O'Donnell, and to serve them both. His country lying upon the sea and open to the isles of Islay and Jura in Scotland, is almost yearly invaded by Scots, who take the spoil of it at their pleasures; whereby O'Dogherty is forced always to be at their devotions. He is able of his own nation and other his followers to make 60 horsemen and 300 footmen. Buildings in his country are the Derry which is defaced, and Greencastle and [*blank in text*] which are wardable.[5]

The County of Coleraine[6] containeth all O'Cahan's country, and lieth between Lough Foyle and the Bann; the captain thereof is one Rory O'Cahan,[7] always left to the government and rule of Tirlough O'Neill and therefore contributeth to him. The chief

[1] Scots from the Hebrides. See p. 46. [2] Included in the plantation.

[3] Manus O'Donnell commenced the building of this castle in 1526, when he defeated O'Neill in an attack intended to prevent its erection.—*Ulst. Journ. Arch.* (1854), II. 148 *n.*

[4] See Sir Thomas Cusack's account of anarchy and civil war in Ulster, 1553. *Cal. Carew MSS.*, I. 243–5.

[5] O'Dogherty rebelled in 1608. His lands were confiscated, and most of them fell to the share of Sir Arthur Chichester.

[6] Included in the plantation. Now Londonderry.

[7] "O'Cahan is chiefest of O'Neill's uriaghts (vassals) and createth him O'Neill by casting a shoe over his head upon a hill in the county of Tyrone, a place always assigned for that purpose."—Dymmok, "A Treatise of Ireland" (1600), *Irish Arch. Soc.* (1842), p. 25.

strength of this man is his own nation, who are able to make 140 horsemen, and about 400 footmen. Yet because he bordereth so near the Scots, he is much affected to them, and at all times doth yield them great relief and succour. He hath buildings in his country upon Lough Foyle side, two strong castles, the one called Annagh and the other Limavady, and upon the Bann near the salmon fishing two castles, the one called the Castle of Coleraine somewhat defaced yet wardable, the other Castle Roe wherein Tirlough O'Neill keepeth a constable and a ward, to receive his part of the fishing.[1]

The County of Armagh[2] containeth these countries, viz., Orior which is O'Hanlon's country, Clanbrassil, Clancan, Clanawley, Muckno, Tiranny, Fews and O'Neilland, most of these have several captains, to whom these countries do appertain, but are of late made all contributaries to the Earl of Tyrone though themselves be desirous to take their land of the Queen. . . .

. . . Buildings in the County of Armagh, none, save the fort at Blackwater, most needful to be repaired and better fortified, and Armagh a small village having the church and other the Friaries there for the most part broken or defaced.

The County of Down containeth these countries, the Lordship of the Newry and the Lordship of Mourne Iveagh otherwise called Magennis's country, Killultagh, Kilwarlin, Kinelarty, Clanbrassil McGoolechan, Lecale, Dufferin, Little Ards, Great Ards, and South Claneboy. The Lordships of Newry and Mourne are the inheritance of Sir Nicholas Bagnal,[3] who at his coming thither found them altogether waste, and Shane O'Neill dwelling within less than a mile to the Newry, at a place called Fathom suffering no subject to travel from Dundalk northward. But since the fortifications and buildings made there by the said Sir Nicholas Bagnal, all the passages are made free, and much of the countries next adjacent reduced to reasonable civility. Iveagh . . . is governed by Sir Hugh Magennis, the civilest of all the Irishry in those parts. He was brought by Sir Nicholas Bagnal from the "bonaght"[4] of the O'Neills, to contribute to the Queen to whom he payeth an annual rent for his lands, which he hath taken by letters patent, to hold after the English manner for him and his heirs males. So as in this place only of Ulster is the rude custom of tanistship put away. Magennis is able to make above 60 horsemen and near 80 footmen; he liveth very civilly and English-like in

[1] See p. 61. It was this region that was planted by the Londoners.

[2] Included in the plantation.

[3] Nicholas Bagnal came from Staffordshire to Ulster in 1542. He was obliged to leave his native place to avoid the consequences of a manslaughter with which he was charged. He managed to secure an important fragment of the O'Neill estates at and round Newry. Sir Henry Bagnal, who was killed at the Battle of the Yellow Ford, was his son.

[4] See p. 36 *n.* 4.

his house and every festival day weareth English garments amongst his followers. Killultagh is a very fast country, full of wood and bog; it bordereth upon Lough Neagh and Clanbrassil; the Captain thereof is one Cormack MacNeill, who likewise was brought by Sir Nicholas Bagnal from the "bonaght" of the O'Neills to yield to the Queen. He is able to make 20 horsemen and 100 kerne. This country (afore the Barons' Wars in England) [1] was possessed and inhabited by Englishmen, and there doth yet remain an old defaced castle which still beareth the name of one Sir Miles Tracey. . . . Clanbrassil McGoolechan is a very fast country of wood and bog, inhabited with a sept called the Kelleys, a very savage and barbarous people, given altogether to spoil and robberies, greatly affected to the Scot, whom they often draw into their countries for the spoiling of the subject. They do contribute (but at their own pleasure) to the Captain of South Claneboy. . . . Lecale is the inheritance of the Earl of Kildare, given to his father and his mother by Queen Mary; it is almost an island and without wood. In it is the bishop's see called Down, first built and inhabited by one Sir John de Courcy, who brought thither with him sundry English gentlemen, and planted them in this country, where some of them yet remain, though somewhat degenerate and in poor estate; yet they hold still their freeholds. Their names are Savages, Russells, Fitzsimons, Audleys, Jordans and Bensons.

Dufferin, sometimes the inheritance of the Mandevilles and now appertaining to one White, who is not of power sufficient to defend and manure the same, therefore it is usurped and inhabited for the most part, by a bastard sort of Scots, who yield to the said White some small rent at their pleasure. This country is for the most part woody, and lieth upon the Lough which goeth out at the haven of Strangford. There are of these bastard Scots dwelling here some 60 bowmen and 20 shot, which live most upon the prey and spoil of their neighbours. Little Ards lieth on the north side of the river of Strangford, a fertile champion country; it is the inheritance of the Lord Savage, who hath now for certain years farmed the same to Captain Piers. There are besides dwelling here certain ancient freeholders of the Savages and Smiths, able to make amongst them all, some 30 horsemen and 60 footmen. They are often harrowed and spoiled by them of Claneboy, with whom the borders of their lands do join.

Great Ards is that country which was undertaken by Mr. Smith (in 1572); [2] it is almost an island, a champion (open

[1] This war drew away from N.E. Ulster the flower of the Anglo-Irish chivalry. The chief cause of the decline of the colony, however, was the Bruce Invasion, 1315–16, and the revolt of the baronage against feudal tenure under the Earldom of Ulster. The O'Neills and O'Donnells had always held the centre and west of the Province.

[2] See p. 54.

or unenclosed) and fertile land, and now possessed by Sir Con MacNeill Oge, who hath planted there Neill McBrian Fertagh, with sundry of his own surname. But the ancient dwellers there are the O'Gilmers, a rich and strong sept of people always followers of the O'Neills of Claneboy. The force of the inhabitants now dwelling here is 60 horsemen and 300 footmen.

South Claneboy is for the most part a woodland, and reacheth from the Dufferin to the river of Knockfergus (Carrickfergus); the captain of it Sir Con MacNeill Oge O'Neill. . . . The south part is now able to make 40 horsemen and 80 footmen.

Antrim, stretching from the haven of Knockfergus to the going out of the Bann, containeth these countries—North Claneboy, Island Magee, Brian Caraghe's country, the Glynnes (Glens) and the Route.[1]

North Claneboy is for the most part a plain country, lying in length from the river of Belfast and Knockfergus to the Route, and in breadth from the Glynnes to the great Lough called Neagh. All this land is given by letters patent to Sir Brian McPhelim's sons, the Queen's pensioners, notwithstanding by a new division lately made by the now Lord Deputy, the one moiety thereof is allotted to the rule of Hugh McPhelim's sons, whereby great dissension doth depend between them, and great slaughter on both parts often committed. The principal followers in this country are these :—the Magees, McO'Neills, O'Mulhollands, O'Durnins, and "Tarturs."[2] The force which they are able to make is 60 horsemen and 300 footmen, but by means of their domestic dissension the country is for the most part waste and depopulate, so as yet it is able to yield little or nothing to her Majesty.

Island Magee is a portion of land within 3 miles of Knockfergus, almost environed with sea, the headland thereof maketh the haven of Olderfleete (Larne); it is five miles long, but little more than a mile broad, all plain, without any wood, very fertile. It is almost all waste; such as be there be the Magees, and contribute to the Lords of Claneboy, but doth of right belong unto the Queen's Castle of Carrickfergus.

Brian Caraghe's country was a portion of North Claneboy, won from it by a bastard kind of Scots of the septs of Clandonnells,[3] who entered the same and do yet hold it, being a very strong piece of land lying upon the north side of the Bann. The name of the now captain thereof is Brian Caraghe, who possesseth likewise

[1] A corrupted form of Dalriada, the ancient name of Northern Antrim.

[2] A corrupted form of *Ui Tuirtre*.

[3] The Clandonnells were not Scots as Marshal Bagnal supposed. The sept was founded by the great-grandfather of Brian Caraghe, a certain Domhnall Donn O'Neill, who became possessed of this district on the Antrim side of the Bann.—*Procs. Roy. Irish Academy* (1859), VII. 213–14.

another piece of a country of Tyrone side upon the Bann for which he doth contribute to O'Neill, and for his lands on the north side to them of Claneboy ; by reason of the fastness and strength of his country, having succour and friends on each side the Bann, it is very hard to harm him, which maketh him so obstinate and careless as he never yet would appear before any Deputy, but yieldeth still what relief he can to the Scots. His force in people is very small ; he standeth only upon the strength of his country, which indeed is the fastest ground of Ireland.

The Glynnes (Glens) so called because it is full of rocky and woody dales, it stretcheth in length 24 miles (on the one side being backed with a very steep and boggy mountain and on the other part with the sea), on which side there are many small creeks between rocks and thickets, where the Scottish galleys do commonly land ; at either end are very narrow entries and passages into this country, which lieth directly opposite to Cantyre in Scotland, from which it is 18 miles distant. The Glynnes contain 7 baronies . . . these were some time the inheritance of the Baron Bissett (or Missett) from whom it descended to a daughter who was married to one of the Clandonnells in Scotland, by whom the Scots now make their claim to the whole, and did quietly possess the same for many years, till now of late (being spoiled of their goods) they were totally banished into Scotland ; but again the country, by instructions from her Majesty, is let to be held from her Highness to Agnus (*sic*) MacDonnell, Lord of Cantyre in Scotland, and to his uncle Sorley Boy.[1] The force of this country is uncertain, for that they are supplied as need requireth from Scotland, with what numbers they list to call, by making of fires upon certain steep rocks hanging over the sea. The ancient followers of the country are these—the Bissetts (or Missetts) some few remaining, but in poor estate. The MacKayes, the O'Mulrenies, the MacGills, the MacAwnleys, the MacCormacks and the Clan-Alisters, who are most desirous to live under the Scots, because they do better defend and less spend them than the Irish lord doth.

The Route, a pleasant and fertile country, lying between the Glynnes and the river of the Bann, and from Claneboy to the sea. It was sometimes inhabited with English (for there remaineth yet certain defaced castles and monasteries of their buildings). The now captain that maketh claim thereto is called MacQuillin,[2] but the Scot hath well near expelled him from the whole, and driven him to a small corner near the Bann, which he defendeth rather by the maintenance of Tirlough O'Neill than his own forces ; and the said Scots did inhabit the rest, which is the best part, till likewise they were by her Majesty's forces banished as aforesaid ; but now come back and possess all in usurped manner as before. The

[1] See pp. 299–301.

[2] Evidently a corruption of MacLlewelyn.

chief ancient followers of this country are—the O'Haras and the O'Quins, who dwell upon their lands and yield rent and service to the Scot; they are able to make 60 strong and well-furnished horsemen and about 200 footmen. Towns in this country are only Carrickfergus. Castles wardable are only Belfast, "Edenduchar"[1] and Olderfleete (Larne); and castles defaced are these: Portmuck in Island Magee, Glenarm, and Red Bay in the Glynnes, and Castle Martin in the Route.

It may easily be perceived by this slender and brief description of Ulster, what hath been and are the reasons why this province hath been from time to time more chargeable to her Majesty than any other, as namely, the want of good towns and fortified places, wherewith other places are better replenished.

And next the sufferance of the O'Neills to usurp the government of the several captains and freeholders, and by little and little to exceed the bounds of their own and so increase upon the possessions of other; whereby they were made stronger than otherwise they could have been, and abled thereby to wage and maintain the greater number of Scots.

Thirdly, the confining so near to the Isles of Scotland, and the continual commerce which the Irishry have with the people of these parts, occasioneth the often coming in of them, to the great hurt of this province and the subjects which dwell there.

Fourthly, and lastly, the want of due exercises of religion and justice, of sacred and civil instructions, is the occasion of much impiety and barbarousness; which two are the mother and nurse of all their disobedience, disorder and disloyalty. . . .

Since the writing of the premises I do perceive by letters lately received out of Ireland, that the Earl of Tyrone hath taken upon him the rule of Sir Hugh Magennis . . . and sundry others, who at my coming thence depended only upon the Queen.[2]

(2) The Royal Commission, 1609. [A Commission to inquire into the King's Title to the several escheated and forfeited lands in Ulster, in the several counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Coleraine, Donegal, Fermanagh, and Cavan (21 July, 1609). Pr. in W. Harris's *Hibernica* (1747), pp. 68–9.]

James, etc., to our right trusty and well-beloved Sir Arthur Chichester, kt., our Deputy of our Realm of Ireland, Thomas, Archbishop of Dublin, our Chancellor in our said Realm . . . etc., etc., greeting.

Whereas great scopes and extents of land in the several counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Coleraine, Donegal, Fermanagh and Cavan within

[1] Probably Edenduffcarrick or Shane's Castle.

[2] Hugh O'Neill was, at this time, augmenting his power with a view to throwing off his allegiance.

our Province of Ulster, are escheated and come to our hands by the attainder of sundry traitors and rebels, and by other just and lawful titles, whereof we have caused heretofore several inquisitions to be taken, and surveys to be made, which being transmitted and presented unto us, we considered with our Privy Council attending our person, how much it would advance the welfare of that Kingdom, if the said land were planted with colonies of civil men and well affected in religion ; whereupon there was a project conceived for the division of the said lands into proportions, and for the distribution of the same unto undertakers, together with certain articles of instruction for such as should be appointed commissioners for the said plantation ; which project and articles signed with our own hand we have lately transmitted unto you our Deputy. And whereas we are informed that in the inquisitions and surveys formerly taken there have been some omissions, as well of the ecclesiastical lands claimed by the several bishops, within whose dioceses the said escheated lands do lie, as of the lands merely temporal, which might the more easily happen, by reason that the quantity and measure of lands in those countries, which were not in former times governed by the English laws, were unknown to our officers and ministers there.

. . . KNOW YE, that we reposing special trust and confidence in your wisdoms, diligence and sincerity . . . do make . . . you or any five or more of you (whereof you our said Deputy shall be always one) to be our commissioners, and we do hereby give unto you . . . full power and authority to inquire as well by the oaths of good and lawful men, as by such other good ways and means as to you shall seem fit and convenient, what castles, manors, lordships, lands, tenements, rents, services, etc., in the several counties of Armagh, Coleraine, Tyrone, Donegal, Fermanagh or Cavan . . . are escheated and come . . . to our hands and possession . . . by virtue of any Act or Acts of Parliament, by attainder of any person or persons, by breach of any condition or conditions contained in any letters patent, by escheat, forfeiture or by any other ways or means whatsoever ; and to make a survey of the said lands, tenements and hereditaments, and of every part thereof, by the numbers of ballybetaghs, ballyboes, polles, tathes, acres or other measures and quantities of land used and known in the said several counties,[1] and after inquisition and survey thereof taken as aforesaid, to plot and divide the said lands into several parishes, precincts and proportions and to distinguish the same by particular names, "mears and bounds" (i.e. boundaries). . . .

And, we do further . . . give unto you . . . full power and

[1] For notes upon Irish land measures, see a paper on "The Townland Distribution of Ireland," by Bishop Reeves in *Procs. Roy. Irish Acad.* (1862), VII. 473, also Hill, *Plantn. in Ulster*, pp. 92, 97, 101, 112. See p. 324 *n.* 1.

authority to hear and determine all titles, controversies and matters whatsoever, which shall arise, and be moved or pretended as well between us and our subjects, as between party and party, concerning the said lands. . . . And we do hereby give you . . . full power and authority to do and execute all and every other act or acts . . . which you . . . shall in your discretion think pertinent and convenient for and towards the perpetration, furtherance or finishing of the said plantation.

["A Brief of the Proceedings of the Commissioners for the Plantation in Ulster since July last" (19 March, 1610). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, pp. 409–10.]

About the end of July last they began their journey into Ulster where they lay in camp nine weeks, and during that time performed two principal things.

They took inquisitions [1] in every county whereby they distinguished the Crown lands from the ecclesiastical lands consisting of the bishops' demesne and mensal lands, and of termon and erenach lands,[2] and therein supplied divers omissions in the former surveys touching the quantity of lands belonging to the King and to the Church, but touching the title, the termon and erenach lands were found for his Majesty, and that the bishops had only rent and pensions out of the same.[3]

The counties being divided into baronies, they made a description of every barony in a several map and card as well by view as by the information of the inhabitants, which is so exactly and particularly done, that the name and situation of every ballyboe, [etc.], is expressed, besides every castle, fort, mountain, lake, river . . . and all other notorious landmarks and distinctions, so as the most obscure part of the King's dominions is now as well known and more particularly described than any part of England. These two services they performed in their journey, besides the sessions of justice which were held in every county, wherein pretended titles were examined, possessions quieted, and many causes heard and ended, and withal 1,000 loose and idle swordsmen were sent away into Sweden, which tendeth very much to the preparation of the plantation.

After their return (to Dublin), they finished their former work in three principal points. An abstract was made out of many

[1] The Inquisitions are published as an appendix to the *Inquisitionum . . . Repertorium* (Irish Record Commission).

[2] These lands, roughly speaking, were glebe lands. See Ware's *Antiquities* (ed. Harris), ch. xxxv.; Bishop Usher, "Original and first Institution of Coarbs, Erenachs and Termon Lands," pr. in Vallancey's *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis* (1770). Hill's *Plantn. in Ulster*, pp. 162, 168, 172, 180–7, 210. See p. 324 *n.* 2.

[3] The King wished to be declared undisputed owner of these lands in order that he might be able to impose upon the prelates the usual conditions of plantation in the management of extensive estates.—*Cal. S.P.I.* (1608–10), p. 564; Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 121, 171.

records as well of the King's titles as of his subjects' titles to all the lands within the escheated counties, which are reduced into a book of cases signed by the chief judges and the Attorney-General, wherein appear what lands the King may dispose to undertakers by a good and just title. The inquisitions were drawn into form of law, examined by the bishops, engrossed and returned, and lastly exemplified under the Great Seal of England. The maps were finished, and therein as well the proportions for undertakers of all sorts as the Church lands and lands already granted and assigned to forts, corporate towns, free schools, etc., are distinguished by sundry marks and colours.

(3) Bacon's Views on the Plantation. ["Certain Considerations touching the Plantation in Ireland" (1608).[1] *Life and Letters of Francis Bacon* (ed. Spedding), IV. 116–28.]

. . . For the excellency of the work, I will divide it into four noble and worthy consequences that will follow thereupon.

The first of the four is Honour; whereof I have spoken enough already, were it not that the Harp of Ireland puts me in mind of that glorious emblem or allegory wherein the wisdom of antiquity did figure and shadow out works of this nature. For the poets feigned that Orpheus, by the virtue and sweetness of his harp, did call and assemble the beasts and birds, of their nature wild and savage, to stand about him, as in a theatre; forgetting their affections of fierceness, of lust and of prey, and listening to the tunes and harmonies of the harp . . . which fable was anciently interpreted of the reducing and plantation of Kingdoms; when people of barbarous manners are brought to give over and discontinue their customs of revenge and blood and of dissolute life and of theft and rapine, and to give ear to the wisdom of laws and governments; whereupon immediately followeth the calling of stones for building and habitation, and of trees for the seats of houses, orchards, inclosures, and the like. This work therefore, of all other most memorable and honourable, your Majesty hath now in hand, specially if your Majesty join the harp of David, in casting out the evil spirit of superstition, with the harp of Orpheus, in casting out desolation and barbarism.

The second consequence of this enterprise, is the avoiding of an inconvenience, which commonly attendeth upon happy times, and is an evil effect of a good cause. The revolution of this present age seemeth to incline to peace almost generally in these parts, and your Majesty's most Christian and virtuous affections do promise the same more specially to these your Kingdoms. An effect

[1] This discourse was presented by Bacon to James I, as a New Year's gift at the opening of 1609.

of peace in fruitful Kingdoms (where the stock of people receiving no consumption nor diminution by war doth continually multiply and increase) must in the end be a surcharge or overflow of people more than the territories can well maintain; which many times insinuating a general necessity and want of means into all estates, doth turn external peace into internal troubles and seditions. Now what an excellent diversion of this inconvenience is ministered by God's providence to your Majesty in this plantation of Ireland, wherein so many families may receive sustentations and fortunes, and the discharge of them also out of England and Scotland may prevent many seeds of future perturbations. . . . So shall your Majesty in this work have a double commodity, in the avoidance of people here, and in making use of them there.

The third consequence is the great safety that is like to grow to your Majesty's estate in general by this act; in discomforting all hostile attempts of foreigners, which the weakness of that Kingdom hath heretofore invited: wherein I shall not need to fetch reasons far off, either for the general or particular. . . .

The fourth and last consequence is the great profit and strength which is like to redound to your Crown, by the working upon this unpolished part thereof: whereof your Majesty, being in the strength of your years, are like by the good pleasure of Almighty God to receive more than the first fruits, and your posterity a growing and springing vein of riches and power. For this island being another Britain, as Britain was said to be another world, is endowed with so many dowries of Nature (considering the fruitfulness of the soil, the ports, the rivers, the fishings, the quarries, the woods and other materials, and specially the race and generation of men, valiant, hard and active) as it is not easy, no not upon the Continent, to find such confluence of commodities, if the hand of man did join with the hand of Nature. So then for the excellency of the work, in point of honour, policy, safety and utility. . . .

The means of accomplishing this work consisteth of two principal parts. The first, the invitation and encouragement of undertakers; the second, the order and policy of the project itself. . . . All men are drawn into actions by three things—pleasure, honour, and profit. But before I pursue these three motives, it is fit in this place to interlace a word or two of the quality of the undertakers. Wherein my opinion simply is, that if your Majesty shall make these portions of land which are to be planted, as rewards or as suits, or as fortunes for those that are in want, and are likest to seek after them, that they will not be able to go through with the charge of good and substantial plantations but will *deficere in opere medio* . . . so that this must rather be an adventure for such as are full, than a setting up of those that are low of means: for those men indeed are fit to perform these undertakings which were

fit to purchase dry reversions after lives or years, or such as were fit to put out money upon long returns. I do not say, but that I think the undertakers themselves will be glad to have some captains, or men of service, intermixed among them for their safety; but I speak of the generality of undertakers, which I wish were men of estate and plenty.

Now therefore it followeth well to speak of the aforesaid three motives. For it will appear the more how necessary it is to allure by all means undertakers: since those men will be least fit which are like to be most in appetite of themselves; and those most fit which are like least to desire it. First therefore for pleasure: in this region or tract of soil, there are no warm winters, nor orange trees, nor strange beasts, or birds, or other points of curiosity or pleasure, as there are in the Indies or the like: so as there can be found no foundation made upon matter of pleasure, otherwise than that the very general desire of novelty and experiment in some stirring natures may work somewhat; and therefore it is the other two points, of honour and profit, whereupon we are wholly to rest.

For honour or countenance, if I shall mention to your Majesty, whether in wisdom you shall think convenient, the better to express your affection to the enterprise and for a pledge thereof, to add the Earldom to the Prince's titles, I shall but learn it out of the practice of King Edward I, who first used the like course, as a mean the better to restrain the country of Wales . . . it is like to put more life and encouragement into the undertakers. Also, considering the large territories which are to be planted, it is not unlike your Majesty will think of raising some nobility there. . . . If it be done without any great franchises or commands, I do not see any peril can ensue thereof; as on the other side it is like it may draw some persons of great estate and means into the action, to the great furtherance and supply of the charges thereof. And lastly for knighthood to such persons as have not attained it; or otherwise knighthood with some new difference and precedence; it may no doubt work with many.[1] . . .

For profit, it will consist in three parts: first, the easy rates that your Majesty shall be pleased to give the undertakers of the land they shall receive; secondly, the liberties which you may be pleased to confer upon them . . . as liberty to transport any of the commodities growing upon the countries new planted . . . the third is, ease of charge; that the whole mass of charge doth not rest upon the private purse of the undertakers. For the two former of these, I will pass them over, because in that project which with good diligence and providence hath been presented to

[1] James I instituted the Order of Baronets in 1611, to relieve the English Exchequer of the burden of supporting the army in Ulster. See Gardiner, *Hist. of England* (1603–42), II. 112.

your Majesty by your ministers of that Kingdom, they are in my opinion well handled. For the third, I will never despair but that the Parliament of England, if it may perceive that this action is not a flash, but a solid and settled pursuit, will give aid to a work so religious, so politic and so profitable . . . whatsoever [charge] is public, as building of churches, walling of towns, town-houses, bridges, causeways or highways and the like, ought not so properly to lie upon particular persons, but to come from the public estate of this Kingdom, to which this work is like to return so great an addition of glory, strength and commodity. . . .

(*Bacon then recommends that a Council of Plantation should be established to take charge of the settlement, which might include some of the principal undertakers, and suggests the following modifications in that scheme of plantation which had already appeared.*)

There is a clause wherein the undertakers are restrained, that they shall execute the plantation in person, from which I must dissent, if I will consent with the grounds I have already taken. For it is not probable that men of great means and plentiful estate will endure the travel, diseasements, and adventures of going thither in person; but rather, I suppose, many will undertake portions as an advancement for their younger children or kinsfolks, or for the sweetness of the expectation of a great bargain in the end, when it is overcome. And therefore it is like they will employ sons, kinsfolks, servants or tenants, and yet be glad to have the estate in themselves. And it may be, some again will join their purses together and make as it were a partnership or joint adventure, and yet man forth some one person by consent for the executing of the plantation.

Thirdly, there is a main point wherein I fear the project made hath too much of the line and compass, and will not be so natural and easy to execute, nor yet so politic and convenient: and that is, that the buildings should be *sparsim* upon every portion, and the castle or principal house should draw the tenements and farms about it as it were into villages, hamlets or endships[1]; and that there should be only four corporate towns for artificers and tradesmen. My opinion is, that the building be altogether in towns,[2] to be compounded as well of husbandries as of arts. My reasons are, first, when men come into a country vast and void of all things necessary for the use of man's life, if they set up together in a place, one of them will the better supply the wants of another: work-folks of all sorts will be the more continually set a-work without loss of time, when if work fail in one place they may have it fast

[1] i.e. very small hamlets.

[2] The wisdom of Bacon's advice with regard to towns and fortified costs was illustrated during the rebellion of 1641.

by; the ways will be made more passable for carriages to those seats or towns than they can be to a number dispersed solitary places; and infinite other helps and easements, scarcely to be comprehended in cogitation, will ensue of vicinity and society of people: whereas if they build scattered, as is projected, every man must have a cornucopia in himself for all things he must use; which cannot but breed much difficulty, and no less waste. Secondly, it will draw out of the inhabited country of Ireland provisions and victuals and many necessaries, because they shall be sure of utterance: whereas in the dispersed habitations, every man must reckon only upon that that he brings with him, as they do in provisions of ships. Thirdly, the charge of "bawns"[1] as they call them to be made about every castle or house, may be spared, when the habitations shall be congregated only into towns. And lastly, it will be a means to secure the country against future perils, in case of any revolt and defection: for by a slight fortification of no great charge, the danger of any attempts of kerne and sword-men may be prevented; the omission of which point in the last plantation of Munster made the work of years to be but the spoil of days. And if any man think it will draw people too far off from the grounds they are to labour, it is to be understood, that the number of the towns be increased accordingly and likewise the situation of them be as in the centre in respect of the portions assigned to them: for in the champion countries of England, where the habitation useth to be in towns, and not dispersed, it is no new thing to go two miles off to plough part of their grounds; and two miles compass will take up a good deal of country.[2]

["The Speech used by Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, to Sir William Jones, upon his calling to be Lord Chief Justice of Ireland" (1617). *Life and Letters of Francis Bacon* (ed. Spedding), VI. 205–7.]

The King's most excellent Majesty, being duly informed of your sufficiency every way, hath called you, by his writ now returned, to the state and degree of a serjeant-at-law, but not to stay there, but being so qualified, to serve him as his Chief Justice of his King's Bench in his Realm of Ireland . . . (and) because you are to be there not only Chief Justice, but a councillor of estate, I will put you in mind of the great work now in hand, that you may raise your thoughts according unto it.

[1] See p. 282 *n.*1.

[2] About the end of Oct., 1608 the Chief Justice and the Attorney-General of Ireland were sent over to London to confer with the Government on the measures to be taken with regard to the plantation. On the 12th Dec., they submitted a scheme for the settlement of the County of Tyrone, and on the 9th Jan., for the five other counties. Bacon's "Discourse" would appear to have been written in the interval between the first and the second report.

Ireland is the last of the daughters of Europe which hath been reclaimed from desolation and a desert (in many parts) to population and plantation; and from savage and barbarous customs to humanity and civility. This is the King's work in chief. It is his garland of heroical virtue and felicity, denied to his progenitors and reserved to his times. The work is not yet conducted to perfection, but is in fair advance. And this I will say confidently, that if God bless that Kingdom with peace and justice, no usurer is so sure in seven years' space to double his principal with interest, and interest upon interest, as that Kingdom is within the same time to double the stock both of wealth and people. So as that Kingdom, which once within these twenty years, wise men were wont to doubt whether they should wish it to be in a pool,[1] is like now to become almost a garden and younger sister to Great Britain. And therefore you must set down with yourself to be not only a just governor, and a good Chief Justice (as if it were in England), but under the King and the Deputy, you are to be a master builder, and a master planter and reducer of Ireland. To which end I will trouble you at this time with but three directions. The first is, that you have special care of the three plantations. That of the North, which is in part acted: that of Wexford, which is now in distribution, and that of Longford and Leitrim, which is now in survey.[2] And take this from me, that the bane of a plantation is, when the undertakers or planters make such haste to a little mechanical present profit, as disturbeth the whole frame and nobleness of the work for times to come. Therefore hold them to their covenants, and the strict ordinances of plantation. The second is, that you be careful of the King's revenue, and by little and little constitute him a good demesne, if it may be, which hitherto is little or none. . . . My last direction (though first in weight) is, that you do all good endeavours to proceed resolutely and constantly, and yet with due temperance and equality, in matters of religion; lest Ireland civil become more dangerous to us than Ireland savage.

So God give you comfort of your place.

(4) **Opinions of Moderate Statesmen.** [Sir Arthur Chichester to the Privy Council[3] (17 Sept., 1607). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, p. 276.]

The only causes of grievance and of the Earl's departure were, as he conceives, the intended reformation of these parts in favour of the freeholders, the freeing the subjects from their cuttings, the prosperity of the law, the envy they bear the garrisons and forts round about and in their countries (which before these last wars,

[1] See p. 20 *n.* 5.
[2] See *Cal. S.P.I.* (1615–25), pp. xiii–xv.; Bonn, *op. cit.* I., 353–6.
[3] Sir Arthur Chichester became Lord Deputy in 1605.

like the Kingdom of China, were inaccessible to strangers) together with the bishops and other grantees of the King's, that either prosecuted, or intended to prosecute, their right and lawful claims against them, for the termon and abbey lands there.

If his Majesty will, during their absence, assume the countries into his possession, divide the lands amongst the inhabitants [1]—to every man of note or good desert so much as he can conveniently stock and manure by himself and his tenants and followers, and so much more as by conjecture he shall be able so to stock and manure for five years to come;—and will bestow the rest upon servitors and men of worth here, and withal bring in colonies of civil people of England and Scotland at his Majesty's pleasure, with condition to build castles or storehouses upon their lands; and if he will bestow £10,000 or £12,000 to repair the forts already built, and to build some more small forts from the ground in fit places, and place 200 soldiers within them . . . to be at his Majesty's charge for the five years aforesaid, and then to be left in the hands of those that shall be first entrusted with them, to be maintained and defended by the revenues of the lands which may be laid to them; then he assures himself that, besides the yearly benefit that will redound to his Majesty's coffers . . . the country will ever after be happily settled; there will be no need to spend their revenues in the reducing and defence of this Realm from time to time, as has been customary for many hundred years heretofore.

[Letter of Sir Arthur Chichester to Lord Salisbury (27 Sept., 1610). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, pp. 502–3.]

The natives of those countries . . . are generally discontented, and repine greatly at their fortunes, and the small quantity of land left to them upon the division; especially those of the counties of Tyrone, Armagh and Coleraine, who, having reformed themselves in their habit and course of life beyond others, and the common expectation held of them, (for all that were able had put on English apparel, and promise to live in townreeds (townships), and to leave their creaghting,)[2] had assured themselves of better conditions from the King than those they lived in under their former landlords; but now they say they have not land given them, nor can they be admitted tenants, which is very grievous unto them. [I have] both studied and laboured the reformation of that people, and could have prevailed with them in any reasonable

[1] "Consideration must be had of the natives, who are many, that either the principal gentlemen, or else the honester sort and best deserving, may be so satisfied in this division as may quench envy."—Chichester to the Privy Council (14 Oct., 1608), *Cal. S.P.I.*, p. 68.

[2] Ir., *caoraigheacht*, a nomadic herd of cattle and their caretakers, also the practice of driving cattle from place to place for pasture. See a note upon "The Creaghts of Fermanagh," *Ulst. Journ. Arch.* (1897), III. 171. See p. 61 *n.* 6.

matter, though it were new unto them ; but now I am discredited among them, for they have far less quantities assigned to them in those counties than in the other three. In which the Commissioners . . . were in my opinion, greatly overseen, or went not well . . . for to thrust the servitors with all the natives of a whole country which paid the King near £2,000 rent yearly, into little more than half a barony (as in Tyrone) was a great oversight, if not out of the meaning. If I speak somewhat feelingly in this particular, it is your Lordship to whom I must and will appeal when I conceive I suffer wrong, in which I humbly beseech your Lordship to excuse me for I have some reason to doubt the affection of some of those Commissioners towards me, though I never deserved ill at their hands, and I humbly pray that your Lordship may not be guided by any direction of theirs, for they know not Ireland as well as I do, especially Ulster ; nor do they wish better to the good and prosperity thereof, nor to the advancement of the King's profit and service.

[Sir Oliver St. John [1] to Salisbury (9 Oct., 1607). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, p. 304.]

Presents two things to his Lordship's consideration. . . .

One, the present fortifying of some of the chief towns most subject to any foreign attempt, and aptest to declare themselves against the King. The most important of these are the towns of Galway, Limerick, Cork and Waterford, the securing of which places, if any intention of toleration at home or any foreign invasion be near at hand, will be great countenance to his Majesty's affairs. . . .

The other consideration is, the disposition of the northern lords' lands in Ulster, when they shall be brought to his Majesty's Crown. Advises that no part be given away to any Irish or English, but by worthy and careful commissioners let to the natives of the country at high and dear rates. The reason of his opinion is grounded upon the natural disposition of the poor Irish, who esteem more their landlord whom they know, than their King whom they seldom hear of ; and when they shall be inured to know that they hold their lands immediately of the King, they will neglect their wonted tyrants, whom naturally they love not, and only turn their affections and loyalties to the King under whom they will serve, and know how happy it is for them to live. Would only wish that in such places as shall be chosen for the planting of garrisons and seats for English commanders, or for the placing of corporations for the more civil government of those parts, there

[1] Oliver St. John, Viscount Grandison, served with distinction in Flanders and France. He accompanied Mountjoy to Ireland in 1601 and took part in the Irish wars. In 1608 he was made a Commissioner for the plantation in Ulster, and in 1616 was appointed Lord Deputy.

should be allotted some good quantity of land, to be annexed perpetually to those forts and corporations, for the better countenancing of those that shall be examples of justice and civility among those barbarous people. By this course, the poor people's hearts, will be made the King's, and his revenues exceedingly increased; for the Irish people, so they be freed from cuttings and cess, willingly yield large rents; and those wild parts will be the more likely to be brought to a true and permanent subjection.

(5) Sir John Davies upholds the Rights of the Crown. [A Letter from Sir John Davies[1] to the Earl of Salisbury (8 Nov., 1610). Davies, *Historical Tracts* (1786), pp. 281–91.]

In the perambulation which we made this summer over the escheated counties in Ulster, we performed four principal points of our commission. First, the land assigned to the natives, we distributed among the natives, in different quantities and proportions, according to their different qualities and deserts. Next, we made the like distribution of the lands allotted to the servitors. Thirdly, we published by proclamation in each county, what lands were granted to British undertakers, and what to servitors, and what to natives: to the end that the natives should remove from the precincts allotted to the Britons . . . and settle upon the lands assigned to natives and servitors. . . . Lastly, to the British undertakers, who are for the most part come over, we gave seizin and possession of their several portions; and assigned them timber for their several buildings.

We began at the Cavan. . . . The inhabitants of this country do border upon the English Pale, where they have many acquaintances and alliances, by means whereof they have learnt to talk of a freehold, and of estates of inheritance, which the poor natives of Fermanagh and Tyrconnel could not speak of; although these men had no other, nor better estate than they; that is, only a scambling and transitory possession, at the pleasure of the chief of every sept. When the proclamation was published touching their removal . . . a lawyer of the Pale, retained by them, did endeavour to maintain that they had estates of inheritance in their possessions, which their chief lords could not forfeit: and therefore in their name, desired two things; first, that they might be admitted to traverse the offices which had been found of those lands; secondly, that they might have the benefit of a proclamation made about five years since, whereby the persons, lands and goods of all his Majesty's subjects were taken into his royal protection. To this the King's Attorney, being commanded by the Lord Deputy,

[1] Davies became Solicitor-General for Ireland in 1603 and Attorney-General in 1606. His *Discovery* and the more important of his letters to Cecil are printed by H. Morley in his *Ireland under Elizabeth and James I.*

made answer: that he was glad that this occasion was offered, of declaring and setting forth his Majesty's just title, as well for his Majesty's honour (who, being the most just prince living, would not dispossess the meanest of his subjects wrongfully, to gain many such Kingdoms) as for the satisfaction of the natives themselves; . . . for his Majesty's right, it shall appear, said he, that his Majesty may and ought to dispose of those lands, in such manner as he hath done and is about to do, in law, in conscience, and in honour. In law, whether the case be to be ruled by our law of England, which is in force; or by their own Brehon law, which is abolished and adjudged no law, but a lewd custom.

It is our rule in our law, that the King is lord paramount of all the land in the Kingdom, and that all his subjects hold their possessions of him, mediate or immediate. It is another rule of our law, that where the tenant's estate doth fail and determine, the lord of whom the land is holden may enter, and dispose thereof at his pleasure. Then those lands in the county of Cavan, which was O'Reilly's country, are all holden of the King; and because the Captainship or Chiefry of O'Reilly is abolished by Act of Parliament . . . and also because two of the chief lords elected by the country hath been lately slain in rebellion (which is an attainder in law) these lands are holden immediately of his Majesty. If then the King's Majesty be immediate chief lord of these lands, let us see what estates the tenants or possessors have, by the rules of the Common Law of England. Either they have an estate of inheritance, or a lesser estate; a lesser estate they do not claim; or if they did, they ought to show the creation thereof, which they cannot do. If they have an estate of inheritance, their lands ought to descend to a certain heir; but neither their chiefries nor their tenancies did ever descend to a certain heir; therefore they have no estate of inheritance. Their chiefries were ever carried in a course of tanistry, to the eldest and strongest of the sept, who held the same during life, if he were not ejected by a stronger. This estate of the chieftain or tanist hath been lately adjudged no estate in law, but only a transitory and scambling possession. Their inferior tenancies did run in another course, like the old gavelkind in Wales, where the bastards had their portions, as well as the legitimate; which portion they held not in perpetuity, but the chief of the sept did once in two or three years shuffle and change their possessions by new partitions and divisions; which made their estates so uncertain, as that, by opinion of all the judges in this Kingdom, this pretended custom of gavelkind is adjudged and declared void in law.[1]

. . . If these men had no estates in law . . . it followeth

[1] The custom of "tanistry" and "gavelkind" were the two most characteristic features of Irish land tenure. See p. 59 *nn.* 2, 4.

that if his Majesty, who is the undoubted lord paramount, do seize and dispose these lands, they can make no title against his Majesty or his patentees. . . .

Then have they no estates by the rules of the Common Law, for the Brehon law, if it were a law in force, and not an unreasonable custom, is abolished; yet, even by that Irish custom, his Majesty, having the supreme chiefry, may dispose the profits of all the lands at his pleasure, and consequently the land itself; . . . for he that was O'Reilly, or chieftain of the country, had power to cut upon all the inhabitants, high or low, as pleased him; which argues they held their lands of the chief lord in villeinage. . . . Thus then it appears, that as well by the Irish custom, as the law of England, his Majesty may, at his pleasure, seize those lands and dispose thereof.

The only scruple which remains consists in this point:—Whether the King may, in conscience, or honour, remove the ancient tenants, and bring in strangers among them. Truly his Majesty may not only take this course lawfully, but is bound in conscience so to do. For being the undoubted rightful King of this Realm . . . his Majesty is bound in conscience to use all lawful and just courses to reduce his people from barbarism to civility; the neglect whereof, heretofore, hath been laid as an imputation upon the Crown of England. Now civility cannot possibly be planted among them, but by this mixed plantation of civil men, which likewise could not be without removal and transplantation of some of the natives, and settling of their possessions in a course of common law; for if themselves were suffered to possess the whole country, as their septs have done for many hundreds of years past, they would never (to the end of the world) build houses, make townships, or villages, or manure, or improve the land as it ought to be; therefore it stands neither with Christian policy nor conscience, to suffer so good and fruitful a country to lie waste like a wilderness, when his Majesty may lawfully dispose it to such persons as will make a civil plantation thereupon.

Again, his Majesty may take this course in conscience, because it tendeth to the good of the inhabitants many ways; for half their land doth now lie waste, by reason whereof that which is habited is not improved to half the value; but when the undertakers are planted among them (there being place and scope enough both for them, and for the natives), and that all the land shall be fully stocked and manured, 500 acres will be of better value than 5,000 are now. Besides, where before their estates were altogether uncertain and transitory, so as their heirs did never inherit, they shall now have certain estates of inheritance, the portion allotted unto them, which they, and their children after them, shall enjoy with security. . . .

Lastly, this transplantation of the natives is made by his Majesty rather like a father than like a lord or monarch. The Romans transplanted whole nations out of Germany into France; the Spaniards lately removed all the Moors out of Granada into Barbary, without providing them any new seats there . . . but these natives of Cavan have competent portions of land assigned unto them, many of them in the same barony where they dwelt before, and such as are removed are planted in the same county, so as his Majesty doth in this imitate the skilful husbandman who doth remove his fruit trees, not with a purpose to extirpate and destroy them, but that they may bring better and sweeter fruit after the transplantation.

Those and other arguments were used by the Attorney to prove that his Majesty might justly dispose of those lands both in law, in conscience and in honour; wherewith the natives seemed not unsatisfied in reason, though they remained in their passions discontented, being much grieved to leave their possessions to strangers, which they had so long after their manner enjoyed; howbeit my Lord Deputy did so mix threats with entreaty . . . as they promised to give way to the undertakers, if the sheriff by warrant of the Commissioners did put them in possession: which they have performed like obedient and loyal subjects. . . .

The eyes of all the natives in Ulster were turned upon this county: therefore when they saw the difficulty of the business overcome here, their minds were the better prepared to submit themselves to the course presented by his Majesty for the plantation; and the service was afterwards performed in the rest of the counties with less contradictions.[1]

(6) The Scheme of Plantation. ["Orders and Conditions to be observed by the Undertakers upon the Distribution and Plantation of the escheated lands in Ulster" (Jan., 1609). Pr. in W. Harris's *Hibernica* (ed. 1747), pp. 63–7.]

Whereas the greatest part of 6 counties, in the Province of Ulster, within the Realm of Ireland, namely, Armagh, Tyrone, Coleraine, Donegal, Fermanagh and Cavan, being escheated, and

[1] The earlier policy of the Government, as displayed, for instance, in the "Composition of Connacht," was to protect the poor "earth-workers" against the great Irish lords, by recognising them as "freeholders." Once the power of the chiefs was broken, the English lawyers declared the mass of the tribesmen to be mere "tenants-at-will," for if "freeholders," their freeholds could not be destroyed through the treason of their chiefs. The Irish themselves quarrelled over this question of status. O'Cahan of Londonderry, claimed that the Earl of Tyrone had no interest in his country, beyond a chief rent of 21 cows and the usual Irish "cuttings" and "spendings." The Earl, on the other hand, declared that O'Cahan had no absolute claim to his lands, but held, he and his ancestors, as tenants on sufferance, as followers and servants of O'Neill. See W. F. Butler, "The Policy of Surrender and Regrant," *Journ. Roy. Soc. Antiqs. Irel.* (1913), xliii, and A. Clèrigh, "The Tribal Occupier and Sir John Davies," *Hist. of Ireland*, ch. 15.

come to the Crown, hath lately been surveyed, and the survey thereof transmitted and presented to his Majesty, upon view whereof his Majesty of his princely bounty, not respecting his own profit, but the public peace and welfare of that Kingdom, by the civil plantation of those unreformed and waste countries, is graciously pleased to distribute the said lands to such of his subjects, as well of Great Britain as of Ireland, as being of merit and ability shall seek the same, with a mind not only to benefit themselves, but to do service to the Crown and the Commonwealth. And forasmuch as many persons, being ignorant of the conditions whereupon his Majesty is pleased to grant the said lands, are importunate suitors for greater portions than they are able to plant, intending their private profit only, and not the advancement of the public service; it is thought convenient to declare and publish to all his Majesty's subjects, the several quantities of the proportions, which shall be distributed, the several sorts of undertakers, the manner of allotment, the estates, the rents, the tenures, with other articles to be observed as well on his Majesty's behalf, as on the behalf of the undertakers, in manner and form following :—

First: The proportions of land to be distributed to undertakers shall be of 3 different quantities, consisting of 3 sundry parcels or precincts of land, called by certain Irish names, used and known in the said several counties, viz., ballybetaghs, quarters, ballyboes, tathes and polles;[1] the first or least proportion to contain such or so many of the said parcels, as shall make up 1,000 English acres at the least; and the second or middle proportion to contain such or so many of the said parcels, as shall make up 1,500 English acres at the least; and the last and greatest proportion to contain such or so many of the said parcels, as shall make up 2,000 English acres at the least; to every of which proportions shall be allowed such quantity of wood and bog, as the country shall conveniently afford.

Secondly: The persons of the undertakers of the several proportions shall be of 3 sorts, viz. :—

1. English or Scottish, as well servitors as others, who are to plant their proportions with English, or inland Scottish[2] inhabitants.
2. Servitors in the Kingdom of Ireland, who may take "mere" Irish,[3] English, or inland Scottish tenants at their choice.
3. Natives of Ireland, who are to be made freeholders.

Thirdly: His Majesty will reserve unto himself the appointment in what country every undertaker shall have his portion. . . .

[1] See p. 324 *n.* 1.
[2] "Inland" Scots were presumably more orderly than the Scots of the Isles.
[3] See p. 234 *n.* 1.

LASTLY: The several articles ensuing are to be observed, as well on the behalf of his Majesty, as of the several undertakers respectively.

Articles concerning the Scottish and English Undertakers, who are to plant their portions with English and Inland Scottish Tenants

His Majesty is pleased to grant estates in fee farm to them and their heirs. They shall yearly yield unto his Majesty for every proportion of 1,000 acres £5 6*s.* 8*d.* English and so rateably for the greater proportions, which is after the rate of 6*s.* 8*d.* for every 60 English acres. But none of the said undertakers shall pay any rent, until the expiration of the first 2 years, except the natives of Ireland, who are not subject to the charge of transportation.

Every undertaker of so much land as shall amount to the greatest proportion of 2,000 acres, or thereabouts, shall hold the same by knight's service *in capite*; and every undertaker of so much land as shall amount to the middle proportion of 1,500 acres or thereabouts, shall hold the same by knight's service, as of the Castle of Dublin. And every undertaker of so much land as shall amount to the least proportion of 1,000 acres, or thereabouts, shall hold the same in common socage; and there shall be no wardship upon the first two descents of that land.

Every undertaker of the greatest proportion of 2,000 acres shall within 2 years after the date of his letters patent, build thereupon a castle with a strong court or bawn [1] upon it. And every undertaker of . . . 1,500 acres shall within the same time, build a stone or brick house thereupon, with a strong court or bawn about it. And every undertaker of . . . 1,000 acres shall . . . make thereupon a strong court or bawn at least. And all the said undertakers shall draw their tenants to build houses for themselves and their families, near the principal castle, house or bawn, for their mutual defence or strength. And they shall have sufficient timber, by the assignation of such officers as the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland shall appoint, out of his Majesty's woods in that province, for the same buildings, without paying anything for the same, during the same 2 years; and to that end, there shall be a present inhibition to restrain the felling or destruction of the said woods in the meantime, for what cause soever.

The said undertakers . . . shall have ready in their houses at all times a convenient store of arms, wherewith they may furnish

[1] Ir., *bádhún*, a cattle fortress, or enclosure for the protection of cattle against the invasions of wolves or hostile tribes. "The abundance of wolves compels them to house their cattle in the bawns of their castles, where all the winter nights they stand up to the bellies in dirt; another reason is, to prevent thieves, and false-hearted brethren, who have spies abroad, and will come 30 miles out of one province into another to practise a cunning robbery."—T. Gainsford, *The Glory of England* (1618), p. 148.

a competent number of able men for their defence, which may be viewed and mustered every half year, according to the manner of England.

Every of the said undertakers, English or Scotch, before the ensealing of his letters patent, shall take the Oath of Supremacy . . . and shall also conform themselves in religion according to his Majesty's laws.

The said undertakers . . . shall not alien or demise their portions, or any part thereof to the mere Irish, or to such persons as will not take the Oath. . . .

Every undertaker shall within 2 years after the date of his letters patent, plant or place a competent number of English or inland Scottish tenants upon his portion. . . .

Every of the said undertakers for the space of 5 years next after the date of his letters patent shall be resident in person himself upon his portion, or place some such other person thereupon . . . unless by reason of sickness or other important cause he be licensed by the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland to absent himself for a time. . . .

The said undertakers shall have power to erect manors, to hold courts baron twice every year, to create tenures to hold of themselves upon alienation of any part of their said portions, so as the same do not exceed the moiety thereof. . . .

No uncertain rent shall be reserved by the said undertakers, but the same shall be expressly set down without reference to the customs of the country, and a proviso shall be inserted in their letters patent against cuttings, cosheries, and other Irish exactions upon their tenants.

The said undertakers . . . during the space of 7 years next ensuing, shall have power to transport all commodities growing upon their own lands . . . without paying any custom or imposition for the same.

It shall be lawful for the said undertakers, for the space of 5 years next ensuing, to send for and bring into Ireland, out of Great Britain, victuals and utensils for their households, materials and tools for building and husbandry, and cattle to stock and manure the lands aforesaid, without paying any custom for the same, which shall not extend to any commodities by way of merchandise.

Articles concerning such Servitors in Ireland, as shall be undertakers in this plantation, and shall have power to inhabit their portions with mere Irish tenants

They shall have estates in fee farm.

They shall yield a yearly rent to his Majesty of £8 English for every proportion of 1,000 acres, and so rateably for the greater

proportions, which is after the rate of 10*s.* for 60 English acres or thereabouts, which they shall inhabit with mere Irish tenants, but they shall pay only £5 6*s.* 8*d.* for every proportion of 1,000 acres, which they shall inhabit with English or Scottish tenants as aforesaid, and so rateably for the other proportions. And they shall pay no rent for the first 2 years.

They shall hold their several portions by the same tenures as the former undertakings respectively. . . .

Articles concerning the Irish Natives, who shall be admitted to be freeholders

They shall have estates in fee farm.

They shall pay the yearly rent of £10 13*s.* 4*d.* for every portion of 1,000 acres, and so rateably for the greater proportions, which is after the rate of 13*s.* 4d. for every 60 acres or thereabouts ; and they shall pay no rent for the first year.

For their tenures they shall hold as the other undertakers respectively, according to their portions, with a proviso of forfeiture of their estates, if they enter into actual rebellion.

They shall inhabit their lands, and build their castles, houses and bawns within 2 years, as the former undertakers.

They shall make certain estates for years, or for lives, to their under tenants, and they shall take no Irish exactions.

They shall use tillage and husbandry after the manner of the English Pale.

Certain general propositions to be notified to the undertakers of all sorts

That there shall be Commissioners appointed for the setting forth of the several proportions, and for the ordering and settling of the plantation, according to such instructions as shall be given unto them by his Majesty in that behalf.

That all the said undertakers shall by themselves, or by such as the states of England or Ireland shall allow of, attend the said Commissioners in Ireland, at or before Midsummer next, to receive such directions touching their plantations, as shall be thought fit.

That every undertaker, before the ensealing of his letters patent, shall enter into bond or recognizance, with good sureties, to his Majesty's use, in the office of his Majesty's Chief Remembrancer in England or Ireland, or in his Majesty's Exchequer or Chancery in Scotland . . . to perform the aforesaid articles . . . of building, etc. . . . in this manner, viz. :—The undertaker of the greatest proportion to become bound in £400, of the middle proportion in £300, and of the least proportion in £200. That in every of the said counties there shall be a convenient number of market towns

and corporations erected for the habitation and settling of tradesmen and artificers; and that there shall be one free school at least appointed in every county; for the education of youth in learning and religion. That there shall be a convenient number of parishes and parish churches, with sufficient incumbents in every county; and that the parishioners shall pay all their tithes in kind to the incumbents of the said parish churches.[1]

(7) **Proposals for a Plantation of the Londoners.** ["Motives and reasons to induce the City of London to undertake the Plantation in the North of Ireland"[2] (May, 1609). Pr. in *A Concise View of the Origin, Constitution and Proceedings, of the Honourable Society of the Governor and Assistants of London of the New Plantation in Ulster, within the Realm of Ireland* (1842), pp. 18–21.]

The Land Commodities which the North of Ireland Produceth

The country is well watered, generally, by abundance of springs, brooks and rivers, and [there is] plenty of fuel, either by means of wood, or, where that is wanting, of good and wholesome turf. It yieldeth store of all necessary for man's sustenance, in such measure as may not only maintain itself, but also furnish the city of London, yearly, with manifold provision, especially for their fleets; namely, with beef, pork, fish, rye, bere (barley), peas and beans, which will also in some years, help the dearth of the city and country about, and the storehouses appointed for the relief of the poor.

As it is fit for all sorts of husbandry, so for breeding of mares and increase of cattle, it doth excel, whence may be expected plenty of butter, cheese, hides and tallow.

English sheep will breed abundantly in Ireland—the sea coast, and the nature of the soil, being very wholesome for them; and if need were, wool might be had cheaply and plentifully out of the west parts of Scotland.

It is held to be good in many places for madder, hops and woad. It affordeth fells of all sorts, in great quantity, red deer, foxes, sheep, lamb, rabbits, martens, squirrels, etc.

Hemp and flax do more naturally grow there than elsewhere; which, being well regarded, might give great provision for canvas, cable, cording, and such like requisite for shipping, besides thread, linen, cloth, and all stuffs made of linen yarn, which is more fine and plentiful there than in all the rest of the Kingdom.

Materials for building—timber, stone of all sorts . . . are afforded in most parts of the country; and the soil is good for brick and tile.

[1] There is an interesting article, by the Earl of Belmore, dealing with the social aspects of the Ulster plantation, in the *Ulster Journ. Arch.* (1895), I. 51.

[2] This paper was submitted to the Corporation on behalf of the King by the Privy Council.

Materials for building of ships, excepting tar, are there to be had in great plenty; and in the country adjoining the goodliest and largest timber in the woods of Glenconkein and Killitragh that may be, and may compare with any in his Majesty's dominions, which may easily be brought to the sea by Lough Neagh, and the river of the Bann. The fir masts, of all sorts, may be had out of Lochaber in Scotland, not far distant from the north of Ireland, much more easily than from Norway; other sorts of wood do afford many services, for pipe staves, hogshead staves, barrel staves, hoop staves, clap-board staves, wainscot, soap and dyeing ashes, glass and iron work, for iron and copper ore, are there plentifully had.

The country is very plentiful for honey and wax.

The Sea and River Commodities

First: The harbour of the river of Derry is exceedingly good; and the road of Portrush and Lough Swilly, not far distant from the Derry, tolerable.

The sea fishing of that coast [is] very plentiful of all manner of usual sea fish, especially herrings and eels; there being, yearly, after Michaelmas, for taking of herrings, above seven or eight score sail of his Majesty's subjects and strangers for lading, besides an infinite number of boats for fishing and killing. . . .

As the sea yieldeth very great plenty and variety of the sea fish, so doth the coast afford abundance of all manner of sea fowl, and the rivers greater store of fresh fish, than any of the rivers in England.

There be also some store of good pearls upon this coast; especially within the river of Lough Foyle.

The coasts be ready for traffic with England and Scotland, and for supply of provision from or to them; and do lie open and convenient for Spain, and the Straits, and fittest and nearest for Newfoundland.

The Profits which London shall receive by this Plantation

If multitudes of men were employed, proportionately to these commodities which might be there by industry attained, many thousands would be set on work, to the great service of the King, strength of his Realm, advancement of several trades, and benefit of particular persons, whom the infinite increasing greatness (that often doth minister occasion of ruin to itself) of this City, might not only conveniently spare, but also reap a singular commodity, by easing themselves of an insufferable burden, which so surchargeth all the parts of the City, that one tradesman can scarce live by another; which, in all probability, would be a means also, and preserve the City from infection; and by consequence, the

whole Kingdom, which, of necessity, must have recourse thither, which persons pestered or closed up together, can neither otherwise, or very hardly avoid.

These colonies may be a means to utter infinite commodities from London, to furnish the whole north of Ireland, which may be transported by means of the rivers of Bann and Lough Foyle, into the counties of Coleraine, Donegal, Tyrone, Armagh and Antrim.[1]

(8) The Londoners send Four Agents to view the country. [Lords of the Council to Sir Arthur Chichester (3 Aug., 1609). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, pp. 266–7.]

Referring to their foregoing letter recommending certain citizens appointed by the City of London to view the Derry and Coleraine, and the country between them, they anxiously entreat him to select discreet persons to conduct, and accompany them, who shall be able to control whatever discouraging reports may be made to them out of ignorance or malice.

The conductors must take care to lead them by the best ways, and to lodge them in their travel, where they may, if possible, receive English entertainment in Englishmen's houses. And though they (the Council) have the opportunity to lay the first hand upon this offer (of the City's) and to make the project to the City; yet that it may be well followed up they send the same in that their letter enclosed; and must leave it to him to perfect. The persons sent with these citizens to conduct them must be prepared beforehand to strengthen every part thereof by demonstration, so as they may conceive the commodities to be of good use and profit; on the other hand, that matters of distaste, as fear of the Irish, of the soldiers, of cess, and such like, be not so much as named, seeing that he (Sir Arthur) knows that discipline and order will easily secure them.

[Sir Arthur Chichester to Salisbury (18 Sept., 1609). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, p. 286.]

Sir Thomas Phillips,[2] with the four agents of London, came unto them . . . in the county of Coleraine. They landed at Knockfergus (Carrickfergus), and in their way from thence they beheld Coleraine and the River of Bann beneath the Leap;[3] they

[1] Barnaby Rich wrote his *New Description of Ireland* (1610) for the benefit of the London undertakers, and in his prefatory letter addressed to Alderman Cockayne, who became the first Governor of the "Irish Society," he gives a similarly glowing account of the natural riches of Ulster. He declares, as a further inducement to plantation, that the Irish are now thoroughly subdued, and that the undertakers need have no fear of attack; indeed, he affirms that "men may work as quietly in those places whereunto they are now sent, as they might do if they were in Cheapside." See p. 153 *n.* 1.

[2] Sir Thomas Phillips was chosen to accompany the Londoners because of his knowledge of, and residence in, this part of the country.

[3] The salmon Leap formed by a rock which extended right across the river. Hill, *Plantn. in Ulster*, p. 369 *n.* 22.

have now seen the Derry, the river of Lough Foyle, the Liffer (Lifford) and sundry parts adjoining; and they like so well of the sites of the lands adjoining the rivers, and the commodities they think to raise by their purse and good husbandry, that they assure him the City of London will really undertake the plantation upon the report they are to make, and that with expedition. If they should not, as he has often told them, they will be enemies to themselves; for the fishings, lands and woods, with toleration of custom and other privileges which his Majesty has graciously proffered to them, are worth not less than £2,000 a year as they now are, and their purse and industry will, within two or three years, improve them to double that value.

They came in a convenient time, when the people in each county made their appearance, declaring their obedience and submission to the law in a far better fashion than within these three years he ever expected to have seen in this province; and if his good usage and that of the Council with him could aid to the other encouragements they have found, it has not been and shall not be wanting. Advised them to send an assay (trial specimen or sample) of the commodities which the country at this time afforded to the Lord Mayor, of which they took good liking; and so he procured them raw hides, tallow, salmon, herrings, eels, pipe-staves, beef and the like, at easy prices. Also procured them some of the iron ore, and will add specimens of the lead and copper.

They are now gone to take a more exact view of the river of Bann above the Leap, and of the woods of Glenconkein and Killitragh, intending to meet him (Chichester) about 14 days hence upon his return towards Dublin. Sir Thomas Phillips, to his great charge and trouble, daily accompanies them from one place to another, which is a great comfort to them. He will return with them, and in the meantime nothing shall be wanting to continue them in the resolution they have taken; for, albeit he perceives they aim at some things that yield no good profit yet he will not hinder so good a work, the best that was ever undertaken in his time for the general good of the Kingdom.

(9) Articles of Agreement between the King and the City of London.[1] ["Articles between the King and City of London for the Plantation of the city of Derry[2] and the county of Coleraine" (28 Jan., 1610). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, pp. 360–2.]

It is agreed by the City that £20,000 shall be levied, whereof £15,000 shall be expended on the intended plantation,[3] and the

[1] The Lords of the Privy Council acted for the King, committees appointed by the Common Council acted on behalf of the Mayor and Commonalty of the City of London.

[2] The modern city of Derry had its origin in the garrison on Lough Foyle, which was planted there in the time of Tyrone's rebellion (1600).

[3] The plantation of the Londoners comprised roughly the valuable and attractive

other £5,000 for clearing private men's interest in the things demanded. That 200 houses shall be built at the Derry and room left for 300 more, and that 4,000 acres lying on the Derry side next adjacent to the city shall be laid thereunto, bog and barren mountain to be no part thereof, but to go as waste to the city, the same to be done by indifferent commissioners. . . .

That Coleraine shall be situated on the abbey side and 100 houses built and room left for 200 more; and that 3,000 acres of land shall be laid thereto. . . .

That the rest of the territory and entire county of Coleraine, esteemed at 10,000 acres, more or less, undertaken by the City, be cleared from all particular interests, except the inheritance of the Bishop and Dean of Derry and certain portion of lands to be assigned to three or four Irish gentlemen at the most, now dwelling and settled in the county of Coleraine, who are to be freeholders to the City and to pay them small rent. . . .

That the woods, grounds and soil of Glenconkein and Killitragh . . . be wholly to the City in perpetuity, the timber trees of those woods to be converted to the use of the plantation, and all necessary uses in Ireland, and not to be made merchandise. . . .

That the City shall have the patronage of all the churches as well within the city of Derry and town of Coleraine as in all lands undertaken by them.

That the 4,000 acres laid to the city of Derry and town of Coleraine shall be in fee farm at the yearly rent of 5*s.* 4*d.*

That the city of Derry and county of Coleraine and 7,000 acres of land to them, shall be held of the King in free burgage.

That the residue of all the county lands and woods, and all such lands to be undertaken, shall be held of the King in common socage.

That the customs of all goods imported or exported . . . shall be enjoyed by the City for the term of 99 years within the city of Derry and town of Coleraine and county, and all ports and creeks thereof, paying yearly 66*s.* 8*d.* to the King as an acknowledgement. . . .

That the salmon and eel fishing of the rivers Bann and Lough Foyle . . . shall be in perpetuity to the City.

That the City shall have liberty to transport all prohibited wares growing upon their own land.

That the City shall have the office of the Admiralty (i.e. jurisdiction over the coast) of the County of Tyrconnel and Coleraine, and all the royalties and profits thereto belonging. . . .

That the City shall have the liberty of fishing and fowling upon all the coasts. . . .

region which lies between the Foyle and the Bann. This territory had formerly belonged to O'Cahan, the chief vassal of the Earl of Tyrone. Altogether the Londoners must have received not less than 400,000 acres, exclusive of Church lands. See Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 386.

That no flax, hemp or yarn, unwoven, be carried out of the Derry and Coleraine without license of the City's officers, and that no hides be transferred without like license. . . .

That sufficient forces shall be maintained at the King's charge for the undertakers' safety for a certain time. . . .

That the City shall with all speed set forward the plantation in such sort that there may be 60 houses built in Derry and 40 in Coleraine by the 1st November following, with convenient fortifications, the rest of the houses to be built and perfected by 1st November, 1611.

[The Agreement concluded. Lords of the Council to Sir Arthur Chichester (4 Feb., 1610). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, p. 378.]

The noble and worthy work of the plantation in Ulster undertaken by the City is now concluded, and the articles signed. The City have chosen a particular Governor and a Council of Assistants, for the more orderly disposition of their affairs. They have also elected a sufficient person, John Rowley . . . to be their resident agent, and other inferior ministers to be despatched thither immediately; their agent to follow shortly. They are recommended to his care, but more especially the work itself. There is nothing the King has more at heart.

(10) The Irish Under the Settlement

(*a*) Irish Poem written about the time of the first Plantation in Ulster. [Standish O'Grady, *Catalogue of Irish MSS. in the British Museum*, pp. 374–5.]

(*This poem begins with a description of old customs violently uprooted and of the new order of things. The "swordsmen" and "idle" men of the four provinces have been driven to take distant foreign service.*[1])

"In their place (i.e. of the native warriors) we have a conceited and impure swarm: of foreigners' blood—of an excommunicated rabble—Saxons are there and Scotsmen. This the land of noble Niall's posterity (i.e. Ulster) they portion out among themselves without [leaving] a jot of Flann's milk-yielding plain [2] but we find it [cut up] into 'acres.' We have lived to see (affliction heavy!) the tribal convention places emptied; the [finny] wealth perished away in the stream: dark thickets of the chase turned into streets. A boorish

[1] "There are at least 2,000 idle men in Connacht who have neither house, lands trade, nor other means, but live idly and feed upon the gentlemen of the country; and when the lords and gentlemen meet upon their parley hills, he is accounted the braves man that comes attended with most of those followers. There are 4,000 of that quality yet left in Ulster, 3,000 in Leinster, and as many in Munster."—Sir Robt. Jacob to Salisbury (18 Oct., 1609), *Cal. S.P.I.*, p. 299.

[2] Another of Ireland's many bardic names.

congregation is in the House of Saints ; God's service [performed] under shelter of simple boughs ; poets' and minstrels' bedclothes [thrown] to litter cattle ; the mountain [allotted] all in fenced fields. Fairs are held in places of the chase ; hunting there is upon the plain [high]ways ; the [open] green is crossed by girdles (i.e. enclosures) of twisting fences, and they [the strangers] practise not to gather together their horses for the race." [1]

(b) Embarkation of Irish Swordsmen for Sweden. [Sir John Davies to Salisbury (19 Oct., 1609). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, p. 300.]

Since they returned home from the northern circuit, the Commissioners for the Plantation have been scattered so that little has been added to their former labours, by reason of the absence of the Lord Deputy, who has ever since been detained upon the borders about the levying and embarking of soldiers for Sweden ; which business his Lordship found the more difficult, since, in order to give impediment thereunto, on the one side the priests of Ulster gave out that this was but a pretence and policy of the English to draw the swordsmen out of the country, and that it was not intended that they should be put on land in Sweden, but that, when they were put out to sea they should be cast overboard and drowned, every mother's son ; on the other side, the Jesuits and seminary priests in Leinster and Connacht persuaded the people that it was altogether unlawful to go to such a war, where they should fight for an heretic [2] and an usurper against a Catholic and a rightful King. Notwithstanding, my Lord Deputy, with his wonted diligence, has overcome the business ; and he is now gone himself in person to Carlingford to see some companies embarked there.

[Sir Arthur Chichester to the Privy Council (23 Sept., 1610). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, p. 496.]

According to directions from them of 2nd of June. . . . Captain Richard Bingley has sent away about 600 of this nation in two ships for Sweden. The continual fear of constraint into that employment does no less discontent and perplex the people of Ulster than this late distribution of escheated lands and new population of the country. They are a people that understand no truth of the affairs of the world, specially that way ; besides, the priests and other ill spirits which govern them, spread false tales and incredible defamations of the usage of this nation. This with some other conceits, have caused idle and able men to run into the woods or to stand upon their keeping for the time. Notwithstanding these difficulties, they got some 200 out of the

[1] For two other Irish poems of this period which reflect the national sentiment, see O'Grady's *Catalogue*, pp. 393, 467.

[2] Charles IX of Sweden, the victorious opponent of his Catholic predecessor Sigismund.

province, of the worst sort, and most of them appearing at sessions of necessity, upon bonds which had formerly been taken for their loyalty and forthcoming at any time. . . . The rest who made up this whole number were voluntaries, most of them out of Munster and some out of Connacht. It may appear by the catalogue of their names which he sends, that some were Englishmen; but many of those were pirates or of other desperate courses, who embraced this other service.

(c) Discontent of the Irish. [Sir Toby Caulfield[1] to the Lord Deputy (27 June, 1610). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, p. 474.]

They (the Irish) have a report that an ambassador, newly arrived in England from Spain, is treating for the pardoning of the Earl and restoration of his lands, which being refused, a war will ensue. They also hope, that the summer being spent, before the Commissioners come down, so great cruelty will not be offered as to remove them from their houses upon the edge of winter, and in the very season when they are to supply themselves in making their harvest,[2] and they think, that by the next spring, if ever Tyrone can or will come, he will wait for no longer time, since delays and further deferring cannot be less prejudice to him than the utter ruin and extirpation of his dearest friends. They hold discourse among themselves, that if this course had been taken with them in war time, it had had some colour of justice; but they having been pardoned and their lands given them,[3] and having lived under law ever since, and being ready to submit themselves to mercy for any offence they can be charged with since their pardoning, they conclude it to be the greatest cruelty that was ever inflicted upon any people. Takes leave to assure him there is not a more discontented people in Christendom.[4]

(d) Sir John Davies's Justification of English Policy. [Sir John Davies, *A Discovery of the True Causes why Ireland was never entirely Subdued* (1612), pp. 280–2.]

The possessions of the Irishry in the Province of Ulster, though it were the most rude and unreformed part of Ireland,

[1] See p. 329 *n.* 3.

[2] As a matter of fact, the colonists were only too anxious to keep the Irish upon their lands, in order to make use of their labour. See Bonn, *op. cit.*, I. 336–7.

[3] See a proclamation by the Lord Deputy and Council of the 9th Nov., 1607, which declared that though the King had taken into his hands all the lands and goods of the fugitive earls, he "would preserve in their estates and protect all the inhabitants of those counties who held under the persons who had thus forfeited."—*Cal. Pat. Rolls Irel., Jas. I*, p. 420, xxvi.

[4] Sir John Davies relates how "divers of Tyrone's horsemen" refused to accept their portions "for some would have scopes like counties who had only a mantle and sword."—*Cal. S.P.I.* (1611–14), p. xxxiv. The Irish retained their hope that Tyrone would return, until they received news of his blindness in 1610. Then they gave in, and went in crowds to Dublin to get their patents.—*Cal. S.P.I.* (1608–10), pp. 523, 530.

and the seat and nest of the last great rebellion, are now better disposed and established, than any the lands in the other provinces, which have been passed and settled upon surrenders. For, as the occasion of the disposing of those lands, did not happen without the special providence and finger of God, which did cast out those wicked and ungrateful traitors, who were the only enemies of the reformation of Ireland; so the distribution and plantation thereof, hath been projected and prosecuted, by the special direction and care of the King himself; wherein his Majesty hath corrected the errors before spoken of, committed by King Henry II and King John, in distributing and planting the first conquered lands. For, although there were six whole shires to be disposed, his Majesty gave not an entire country, or county, to any particular person; much less did he grant *Jura Regalia*, or any extraordinary liberties. For the best British undertaker had but a proportion of 3,000 acres for himself, with power to create a manor, and hold a court baron; albeit, many of these undertakers, were of as great birth and quality, as the best adventurers in the first conquest. Again, his Majesty did not utterly exclude the natives out of this plantation, with a purpose to root them out, as the Irish were excluded out of the first English colonies; but made a mixed plantation of British and Irish, that they might grow up together in one nation; only, the Irish were in some places transplanted from the woods and mountains into the plains and open countries, that being removed (like wild fruit trees) they might grow the milder, and bear the better and sweeter fruit.

And this truly, is the master-piece, and most excellent part of the work of reformation, and is worthy indeed of his Majesty's royal pains. For when this plantation hath taken root, and been fixed and settled but a few years, with the favour and blessing of God . . . it will secure the peace of Ireland, assure it to the Crown of England for ever; and finally, make it a civil and a rich, a mighty, and a flourishing Kingdom.

(e) Irish Attacks on the Settlers. [Thomas Blenerhasset,[1] *A Direction for the Plantation in Ulster* (1610).]

Excellent and High-Renowned Prince, since such time as it hath pleased the Lord Treasurer to refer the petition of Mr. Henry Honnings, unto the Irish Commissioners, for the undertaking of three score acres of the escheated lands in the north of Ireland, to be

[1] Blenerhasset was an English gentleman who, in 1611, received 2,000 acres at Clankelly in Fermanagh. In this pamphlet, which is dedicated to Prince Henry, he tries to show that the extirpation of the Irish in Ulster was the best means for "the securing of that wild country to the Crown of England." Like Bacon, he did not believe in "a scattered plantation," but in a large number of well-fortified towns from which sallies could be made and the wood-kerne (Irish outlaws) hunted down.

planted by certain English gentlemen, of which myself being one, considering the greatness of the action, to satisfy myself I passed the seas, and not far from the Lifford I found that very worthy gentleman, Sir Arthur Chichester, the King's Lord Deputy with other Commissioners, surveying those escheated lands from the church lands, and from their lands who have hitherto been loyal.

I being there conversant with some of the chief knights and captains, desired of them to know the cause why they themselves were not forward to undertake those profitable seats and rich grounds : [1] I was answered, that to build castles and forts was chargeable, neither then if there should be a manor erected with twenty or forty tenants, would they and it secure their goods : for although that castle or fort would serve for a sufficient refuge to preserve their lives upon any extremity, yet the cruel wood-kerne, the devouring wolf, and other suspicious Irish, would so attend on their business, as their being there should be little profitable unto them. For an example : Sir Toby Caulfield he dwelleth in Charlemont, a fort of many other the best, and well furnished with men and munition : yet now (even in this fair calm of quiet) his people are driven every night to lay up all his cattle as it were in ward, and do he and his what they can, the wolf and the wood-kerne (within caliver shot of his fort) have oftentimes a share : yet I do verily believe, no man keepeth better order, as well for the safeguard of himself and his neighbours, as for the government of all those parts about him.

[Letter of George Canning [2] to the Worshipful Company of Ironmongers (13 May, 1616). Pr. in J. Nicholl's *Account of the Company of Ironmongers*, pp. 395–6.]

The news here is nothing but the continual trouble in these parts. . . . There were never since I came hither so many kerne out in the woods as now ; they are in five or six several companies, so that men can travel no way near any woods, without great danger, except they go a good company together, and well provided. The last day of April, Mr. Nicholas Elcock, agent for the Clothworkers, was taken by Revelin McCull and his company ; he [Elcock] had two men with him, those they left bound, and would have killed them had it not been to deliver a letter which they compelled Mr. Elcock to write to some of his friends ; the effect was that if their pardons were not procured within 14 days,

[1] "The King's intention of bringing colonies out of Great Britain does not go so forward as is to be wished. Most of these who have come over hither, come to look upon their portions and see how they can like them, and so return back again, rather than with an intention to adventure their persons or substance in the plantation."—Chichester to the Lords of the Privy Council (12th Oct., 1611), *Cal. S.P.I.*, p. 146.

[2] Canning was the agent of the Company at Agivey on the Bann.

or they had not £100 sterling delivered them by some means at the 14 days' end, they would hang him; so they took him into the woods and kept him two days and one night, trailing him from place to place; but the second evening (the country being raised after them and divided many ways) some of the country churls (Irish labourers and peasant holders) by the great goodness of God, happened in a thick obscure place in the woods where Mr. Elcock was with a few of the kerne; the rest were gone abroad for more prey, at the sight of whom (the churls) the kerne fled; so Mr. Elcock escaped, almost past hope, blessed be God.

Divers robberies and some murders have been committed near us since that time, and they are now grown so bold that on Tuesday last, being the seventh of this month, a company of rebels, about six of the clock in the afternoon, entered into an Englishman's house, six miles on this side Derry, upon the highway, where Mr. Fowkes did lie at his first coming into this country; they wounded the man of the house very sore, so that he will very hardly escape with life, and took between £7 and £8 in money, and all the rest of his goods that were worth carrying away; and some that brought the first tidings of it hither reported that four or five of the villains [most grossly ill-treated his wife].

These mischiefs and miseries causeth us to stand continually upon a good guard, and when we travel to take good strength with us; wherefore might it please you, when you send those materials I wrote for in my last, also to send over some more arms, as muskets, calivers,[1] powder and bullets (the last caliver's bullets you sent were all too big); wherefore, if you please to send two pair of bullet moulds and lead were best, so they be made fit for the pieces, also some halberds and half pikes. When the second floor is laid on your castle, I hope it will be a secure place against 100 men, if we be anything well provided within.[2]

(11) Pynnar's Survey of Ulster, 1619. [A Survey of Ulster (1619), by Captain Nicholas Pynnar. Pr. in W. Harris's *Hibernica* (1747), p. 126.]

May it please your Lordships,

I have in the "Book" before written set down all the particulars I find of the state of the plantation of his Majesty's escheated lands in Ulster now to stand.[3]

And, first, it appears by the particulars, that in the British families within mentioned, there are 6,215 bodies of men; but

[1] See p 184 *n.* 1.

[2] "These difficulties continued in a greater or less degree until after the revolutionary struggle of 1690, when the last hope of the native Irish to regain their lands appears to have been extinguished."—Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 444.

[3] Pynnar, having described each proportion and precinct of the plantation, including those belonging to the London Companies, concluded his Survey with the letter to the Lords of the Privy Council, quoted here.

I may presume further to certify partly by observing the habitation of these lands, and partly by conferring with some of knowledge among them, that upon occasion, there may be found in those lands at least 8,000 men of British birth and descent, to do his Majesty service for defence thereof, though the fourth part of the land is not fully inhabited.

Secondly, it appears by the particulars, that there are now built within the counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Donegal, Fermanagh, Cavan and London-Derry, 107 castles with bawns, 19 castles without bawns, 42 bawns without castles or houses, 1,897 dwelling houses of stone and timber, after the English manner in townreeds (townships), besides very many such houses in several parts which I saw not; and yet there is great want of buildings upon these lands, both for townreeds, and otherwise; and I may say, that the abode and continuance of those inhabitants upon the lands is not yet made certain, although I have seen the deeds made unto them. My reason is, that many of the English tenants do not yet plough upon the lands, neither use husbandry; because, I conceive they are fearful to stock themselves with cattle or servants for those labours. Neither do the Irish use tillage; for that they are also uncertain of their stay upon the lands; so that by this means, the Irish ploughing nothing, do use grazing, the English very little, and were it not for the Scottish tenants, which do plough in many places of the country, those parts may starve; by reason whereof the British, who are forced to take their lands at great rates, do lie at the greater rents, paid unto them by the Irish tenants, who do graze their land; and if the Irish be put away with their cattle, the British must either forsake their dwellings, or endure great distress on the sudden. Yet the cohabitation of the Irish is dangerous to them, by robbing them, and otherwise. I observe the greatest number of Irish do dwell upon the lands granted to the City of London; which happeneth as I take it, two ways. First, there are 5 of the proportions assigned to the several Companies, which are not yet estated to any man, but are in the hands of agents, who finding the Irish more profitable than the British tenants, are unwilling to draw on the British, persuading the Company, that the lands are mountainous and unprofitable, not regarding the future security of the whole. Secondly, the other 7 of the proportions are leased to several persons for 61 years, and the lessees do affirm, that they are not bound to plant English, but many plant with what people they please; neither is the City of London bound to do it by their patents from his Majesty, as they say; and by these two actions, the British that now are there, who have many of them built houses at their own charges, have no estates made unto them; which is such discouragement unto them, as they are minded to depart the land, and without better

settlement will seek elsewhere, wherein it is very fit, the City have direction to take a present course, that they may receive their assurances; and this being the inconveniency which in this survey I have observed, further than what was set down formerly by Sir Josias Bodley's last survey (1615), I have thought good to make the same known to your Lordships, submitting the further consideration thereof to your Lordships' deep judgement.

NICHOLAS PYNNAR.

(12) The Plantations in 1641. [The Lords Justices and Council of Ireland to Secretary Vane (24 April, 1641). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, pp. 277–8.]

In that strictness of duty wherein we stand bound as servants and councillors to his Majesty, we humbly presume, with all confidence, to say that the plantations here prudently begun by Queen Elizabeth, and piously proceeded in by his Majesty's most blessed father, as by the blessing of God they have prospered well, to the great advantage of the Crown and benefit of the inhabitants planted, so they have been the very original and preservation of the peace and happiness which of late years this Kingdom has enjoyed. That by them several English towns, castles, houses of strength, and churches have been built in many remote and desolate parts of the Kingdom, more societies of Protestants settled than are in all the Kingdom besides, religion, civility, schools, manufacture and trades in a good measure for the time introduced; a clergy well enabled by glebes of his Majesty's bounty and otherwise, and the lands by habitation generally raised to values far above former times. That in the plantations great parts of the lands have been so assured to the British by provisoes in the grants, and otherwise, as they must for ever remain English, and cannot in point of interest come into the hands of the Irish, which adds much to the strength of the Government and service of the Crown. That by them the great Irish lords, who for so many ages so grievously infested this Kingdom, are either taken away or so levelled with others in point of subjection as all now submit to the rule of the law, and many of them live in good order. That the plantations have been made only in the Irish territories, where those sometimes unruly chieftains formerly governed, and where the Irish, by advantage of the times, prevailed by incursion and in a manner continuous rebellions, for long time, to expel the English, first planted, though now many of them are changed into a civil course of life.

The plantations have given an occasion for drawing men's scattered estates together, and titles and boundaries are fixed and confirmed. The country is now full of persons of quality of British birth and of civilly educated Irish, who are even sheriffs,

justices of the peace, etc. There was no way to reduce this Kingdom to the English laws and obedience of the Crown, and to free England of the perpetual charge thereof, but only a full conquest or a politic reformation by plantations, as is affirmed in a resolution taken in the reign of King Henry the Eighth by the then Lord Deputy and Council,[1] who all, except the Deputy, were born here, and of the ancient English descent, well affected, as still they are, who best understood the nature and quality of the country and people.

Plantations have certainly kept the peace and encouraged the Protestant religion. Thus the County Monaghan was, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, regranted, after a title had been found, to the old owners, in the same disordered manner as they formerly held. Soon after they went into rebellion, and to this day the county is the most barbarous, poor, and despicable in the Kingdom, the Earl of Essex's lands excepted, where several English dwell, and except the Lord Blayney and his family. We think the policy of plantation should be applied to the lands recently found for the King in Munster.

LXVIII. THE SCOTTISH COLONISATION OF ANTRIM AND DOWN

(1) An Act against Scottish Immigration. ["An Act against bringing in of Scots, retaining of them, and marrying with them." 3 & 4 Philip and Mary, c. 15. *Irish Statutes* (1786), I. 274.]

Forasmuch as divers rebels, and other naughty and evil disposed persons of the Irishry within the Realm of Ireland, have oftentimes heretofore brought into this Realm of Ireland, Scots, and other strangers, being men of war, and have given them wages, "bonaght," and other entertainments within this Realm, to support, aid, and maintain them in the times of their rebellion and otherwise, so as by the reason thereof Scots have of late inhabited in the north parts of this Realm in several places, and have out thereof expelled the very inheritors of the same; a hindrance and great let, of the King's and Queen's Majesties' affairs within this their Realm: and also the Scots aforesaid for their better maintenance to remain and abide within this Realm, have and do daily ally themselves by marriages with divers of the Irishry in those parts, and thereby have divers times procured war and great trouble in those parts: be it therefore enacted, ordained, and established by our sovereign lord and lady the King's and Queen's Majesties, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the Commons of this present

[1] *L. and P., Hen. VIII*, XIX. (i.), No. 79.

Parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, that if any person or persons at any time hereafter do procure the coming of Scots, being men of war, into this Realm, or do bring into this Realm Scots, being men of war, or do hereafter at any time give any Scot or Scots, being within this Realm, and men of war, any wages, bonaghts, "forryn,"[1] or any other entertainment or hire for service in war, that then every such offence and offences shall be deemed and adjudged high treason. . . .

And be it further enacted by the said authority, that if any person or persons, born within this Realm of Ireland, do hereafter, without having the Lord Deputy of this Realm's licence, sealed with the Great Seal of this Realm, contract matrimony or marry with any Scottish man, woman or maiden, that then every such offence or offences shall be deemed and adjudged felony. . . .

Provided alway, that this Act, nor anything therein contained, shall not extend or be prejudicial or hurtful to any person or persons bringing any Scottish merchants or Scottish mariners into this Realm with merchandise, or for bargaining with the Scottish merchants or Scottish mariners in way of merchandise.

Provided also, that this Act, nor any thing therein contained, shall not extend to any Scot made or to be made denizen.[2]

(2) Royal Grants to the MacDonnells. [Grant of part of the Route to Sorley Boy MacDonnell (18 June, 1586). *Cal. Carew MSS.*, II. 427–8.]

Indenture between Sir John Perrot, Lord General of Ireland, and the Council there, and Sorley MacDonnell.

The latter acknowledges his bearing of arms and stirring of rebellion against the Queen, and his forcible and wrongful possession of her castles and territories in the Route. Prostrate at the feet of the Lord Deputy, he renounces all his pretended rights to the Castle of Dunluce and all other the said castles and territories, and prays for pardon, and to be made a free denizen, as also for some portion of the Route.

The Lord Deputy and Council grant him free pardon and protection, and letters patent of denization. He shall have by letters patent, in tail male, the "toughe"[3] or territory extending from the Bush to the Bann, and the three "toughes" of Dunseverick, Loughguile, and "Toughe" Ballymoney, with all the lands of the MacQuillins[4] and the Constableship or key-keeping

[1] Foreign, i.e. expenses other than personal.

[2] This Act was repealed in 1612 by the 11, 12 & 13 James I, c. 6. "Forasmuch as the cause of the making of the said Act is utterly taken away by the happy uniting of the Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland under one Imperial Crown."—*Irish Statutes*, I. 443.

[3] Ir., *tuath*, district.

[4] See p. 265 n. 2.

of the Castle of Dunluce by the delivery of Mr. Stafford. To hold of the Queen by the services of homage, fealty and two knight's fees, and on condition of keeping certain articles, viz. :—

(1) Neither he nor his followers to serve any foreign prince or any other person within Ireland against her Majesty.

(2) No Scots under him, whom he may command, to disquiet the peace of this Realm, or serve against her Majesty in this Realm, except when there is war between England and Scotland.

(3) Not to retain any Scots above 30 other than be natives of Ireland, and to deliver a book of their names to the Marshal of the Queen's garrisons in Ireland.

(4) To serve her Majesty with a "rising-out" [1] of 80 footmen in Ulster, at his and their own charges.

(5) He and his tenants are not to meddle with their borderers in Ulster.

(6) To pay a yearly rent of 60 good and fat beeves at Carrickfergus, between Lammas and Hallowtide.

(7) To serve [against all] that shall invade this Realm, except against the Scots when war is proclaimed between England and Scotland.

(8) Not to alien or convey away his lands.

(9) To yearly preserve and give to her Majesty one eyrie of the best hawks, either goshawks or falcons.

(10) He shall behave dutifully to her Majesty for the said lands, except in time of war between England and Scotland.[2]

[Grant from the King to Sir Randal MacDonnell (28 May, 1603). *Cal. Pat. Rolls Irel., Jas. I*, p. 3. xiii.]

All and singular lordships, manors, territories, castles, buildings, lands, rents, reversions, services, woods, mountains, water-courses, mills, courtsleet, fairs, etc., with all their rights, members, liberties and appurtenances within the several territories and countries of the Route and the Glynnes as well spiritual as temporal ; in which country of the Route are contained 9 territories, otherwise called "Toughes" and 7 in the Glynnes, which were all long in the tenure of his predecessors, and were then in his own ; except the late dissolved monastery or abbey of Coleraine, 3 parts in 4 of the fishing of the River Bann, the Castle of Olderfleete (Larne) with all its appurtenances, all lands belonging to the Sees of Down and Connor, and the right, title and interest of all free tenants, who have any estate or interest in the premises—To hold the Castle of Dunluce situate in the Route during pleasure ;

[1] See p. 328.

[2] The terms of the agreement with Sorley Boy are not given in full in the *Calendar*, but the Editor states that they were "similar" to those granted to Angus MacDonnell (16 May, 1586), which are here quoted.

to hold the rest in fee farm for ever *in capite*, and by the service of six knight's fees, and rendering yearly to the chief governor a cast[1] of good falcons at the feast of St. John Baptist, and to deliver yearly at Carrickfergus 160 fat cows or beeves, or 20*s.* for each cow, at the election of the Crown, between Michaelmas and All Saints; to find at his own expense in all journeys and hostings 120 foot soldiers sufficiently armed, 60 to be good shot, and the rest swordsmen and pikemen, and 24 horsemen, with sufficient victuals for 40 days to serve under the Lord Lieutenant, the Governor of Carrickfergus, or of the province of Ulster, in any part of Ireland; to answer all compositions, rents and services; and to assist the Surveyor General to divide and ascertain the premises.

[*Cal. Pat. Rolls Irel., Jas. I*, p. 373, viii.]

Grant to Sir Randal MacDonnell of Dunluce, in Antrim County, knt. and his heirs male, descended from the noble families of the Lords of Cantyre and Ross in Scotland, of the title and dignity of Viscount Dunluce, in consideration of his services in improving those barren and uncultivated parts of the country, and planting a colony there.—26 June, 1618.

[*Cal. Pat. Rolls Irel., Jas. I*, p. 492, xviii.]

Grant from the King to Randal MacDonnell, knight, Viscount of Dunluce, of the dignity of Earl of Antrim in Ulster.—To hold to him and his heirs male, for ever, with an annual pension of £20 Irish.[2]—12 December, 1620.

(3) The Montgomerys in County Down. [Sir Hugh Montgomery's Plantation in County Down. *Montgomery Manuscripts*[3] (ed. G. Hill), pp. 51–67.]

I now go on with Sir Hugh Montgomery's plantation, which began about May, 1606, and thus it was, viz. :—Sir Hugh, after his return from Ireland to Braidstane, in winter 1605, as he had before his coming into Ireland, spoken of the plantation, so now he conduced his prime friends to join him therein, viz. :—John Shaw of Greenock, Esq. . . . and Patrick Montgomery of Black House. . . . Sir Hugh also brought with him Patrick Shaw, Laird of Kelsoland . . . and Hugh Montgomery, a cadet of the family of Braidstane . . . with many others, and gave them

[1] i.e. a couple, the number of hawks cast off at a time in hawking.

[2] See J. Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland* (ed. Archdall), I. 204–7.

[3] Written by William Montgomery of Rosemount, Co. Down, between 1696 and 1706.

lands in fee farm in Donaghadee parish . . . under small chief rents.[1] . . .

There came over also divers wealthy able men, to whom his Lordship gave tenements in freehold, and parks by lease, so they being as it were bound, with their heirs, to the one, they must increase the rent for the other, at the end of the term, or quit both, which makes the park lands about towns give 10*s.* per acre rent now, which at the plantations the tenants had for 1*s.* rent, and these being taken, the tenants had some 2, some 3, and some 4 acres, for each of which they passed a boll of barley, rent. They built stone houses, and they traded to enable them to buy land, to France, Flanders, Norway, etc., as they still do. . . .

I desire that this brief account may serve as a sampler of Sir Hugh's first essay to his plantation, for it would be tedious (as it would be impossible for me) to enumerate all the substantial persons whom he brought or who came to plant in Grey Abbey, Newtown, and corner parishes. . . . Therefore let us now pause awhile, and we shall wonder how this plantation advanced itself (especially in and about the towns of Donaghadee and Newtown), considering that in the spring time (1606), those parishes were now more wasted than America (when the Spaniards landed there), but were not at all encumbered with great woods to be felled and grubbed, to the discouragement or hindrance of the inhabitants, for in all those three parishes aforesaid, thirty cabins could not be found, nor any stone walls, but ruined roofless churches, and a few vaults at Grey Abbey, and a stump of an old castle in Newtown, in each of which some gentlemen sheltered themselves at their first coming over. But Sir Hugh in the said spring brought with him divers artificers, as smiths, masons, carpenters, etc. I knew many of them old men when I was a boy at school, and had little employments for some of them, and heard them tell many things of this plantation which I found true. They soon made cottages and booths for themselves, because sods and saplings of ashes, alders, and birch trees (above thirty years old) with rushes for thatch, and bushes for wattles, were at hand. And also they made a shelter of the said stump of the castle for Sir Hugh, whose residence was mostly there, as in the centre of being supplied with necessaries from Belfast (but six miles thence), who therefore came and set up a market in Newtown, for profit for both the towns. As likewise in the fair summer season (twice, sometimes thrice every week) they were supplied from Scotland, as Donaghadee was oftener, because but three hours' sail from Port Patrick, where they bespoke provisions and necessaries to lade in, to be brought over by their own or that town's boats whenever wind and weather served them, for there was a constant flux of passengers coming daily over.

[1] See J. Paterson, *History of the County of Ayr*.

I have heard honest old men say that in June, July, and August, 1607, people came from Stranraer, four miles, and left their horses at the port, hired horses at Donaghadee, came with their wares and provisions to Newtown, and sold them, dined there, stayed two or three hours, and returned to their houses the same day by bed-time, their land journey but twenty miles. . . . Such was their encouragement from a ready market, and their kind desires to see and supply their friends and kindred, which commerce took quite away the evil report of wolves and wood-kerne, which enviers of planter's industry had raised and brought upon our plantations; but, notwithstanding thereof, by the aforesaid gentlemen's assiduity to people their own farms, which they did, (1607), after Sir Hugh and his Lady's example, they both being active and intent on the work (as birds, after pairing to make nests for their brood), then you might see streets and tenements regularly set out, and houses rising as it were out of the ground (like Cadmus's colony) on a sudden, so that these dwellings became towns immediately.

Yet among all this care and indefatigable industry for their families, a place of God's honour to dwell in was not forgotten or neglected, for indeed our forefathers were more pious than ourselves, and so soon as [the] said stump of the old castle was so repaired (as it was in spring time, 1606), as might be shelter for that year's summer and harvest, for Sir Hugh and for his servants that winter, his piety made some good store of provisions in those fair seasons, towards roofing and fitting the chancel of that church, for the worship of God; and therein he needed not withdraw his own planters from working for themselves, because there were Irish Gibeonets [1] and garrons (ponies) enough in his woods to hew and draw timber for the sanctuary; and the general free contribution of the planters, some with money, others with handicrafts, and many with labouring, was so great and willingly given, that the next year after this, viz. in 1607, before winter it was made decently serviceable, and Sir Hugh had brought over at first two or three chaplains with him for these parishes. In summer, 1608, some of the priory walls were roofed [2] and fitted for his Lady and children and servants (which were many) to live in.

Now the harvests 1606 and 1607 had stocked the people with grain, for the lands were never naturally so productive since that time, except where no plough had gone, and where sea oar (called wreck) is employed for dung, to that degree that they had to spare and to sell to the succeeding new-coming planters, who came over the more in number and the faster, because they might sell their own grain at a great price in Scotland, and be freed of trouble to

[1] Hewers of wood and drawers of water.—Joshua ix. 17, 23, 27.
[2] The Priory was originally a Dominican house founded in the thirteenth century

bring it with them, and could have it cheaper here. This conference gave occasion to Sir Hugh's Lady to build water mills in all the parishes, to the great advantage of her house, which was numerous in servants, of whom she stood in need, in working about her gardens, carriages, etc., having then no duty days' work from tenants, or very few as exacted, they being sufficiently employed in their proper labour and the public. The millers also prevented the necessity of bringing meal from Scotland, and grinding with quairn stones (as the Irish did to make their graddon [1]) both which inconveniencies the people, at their first coming, were forced to undergo.

Her Ladyship had also her farms at Grey Abbey and Comber, as well as at Newtown, both to supply newcomers and her house; and she easily got men for plough and barn, for many came over who had not stocks to plant and take leases of land, but had brought a cow or two and a few sheep, for which she gave them grass and so much grain per annum, and an house and garden plot to live on, and some land for flax and potatoes, as they agreed on for doing their work, and there be at this day many such poor labourers amongst us; and this was but part of her good management, for she set up and encouraged linen and woollen manufactory, which soon brought down the prices of the breakens [2] and narrow cloths of both sorts.

Now everybody minded their trades, and the plough, and the spade, building, and setting fruit trees, etc., in orchards and gardens, and by ditching in their grounds. The old women spun, and the young girls plied their nimble fingers at knitting, and everybody was innocently busy. Now the golden peaceable age renewed, no strife, contention, querulous lawyers, or Scottish or Irish feuds, between clans and families, and surnames, disturbing the tranquillity of those times; and the towns and temples were erected, with other great works done (even in troublesome years) as shall be in part recited, when I come to tell you of the first Lord Viscount Montgomery's funeral, person, parts, and arts; therefore, reader, I shall be the more concise in the history of the plantation . . . I find . . . that in a few years from the beginning of the plantation, viz. in A.D. 1610, the Viscount brought before the King's mustermaster 1,000 able fighting men to serve, when out of them a militia should be raised, and the said Sir Hugh (for the great encouragement of planters and builders) obtained a patent dated the 25th of March, 11th Jac. . . . by which . . . Newtown aforesaid is erected into a corporation, whereof the said Sir Hugh is nominated the first Provost, and the burgesses are also named.

[1] Ir., *greadán*, meal or parched corn.
[2] Ir., *breacán*, a plaid.

(4) Letters of Susan Montgomery. [Mrs. Montgomery to John Willoughby [1] (20 May, 1605). Trevelyan Papers, Part III., *Camden Society*, p. 79.]

Loving Brother . . . Mr. Highgate is now at Chedzoy [2] and is lately come from London, and he assureth me that my Lord Bishop will be at home before Wednesday night. The King hath bestowed on him three Irish bishoprics; [3] the names of them I cannot remember, they are so strange, except one, which is Derry: I pray God it may make us all merry. I will, God willing, remember your suit, and also my cousin Nicholas when he cometh home. We mean to come into Devonshire, God willing, very shortly. . . .

[Mrs. Montgomery to John Willoughby (8 Oct., 1606). Trevelyan Papers, Part III., *Camden Society*, pp. 99–102.]

Loving brother and sister, having the opportunity of this bearer, my cousin William Willoughby,[4] who minding to return for England, I thought good to write these few lines unto you, signifying thereby that we are in good health, and that we have, thanks be unto God, well and safely passed the dangers of the seas, as also the long miles by land, yet God blessed us with as fair weather as we could wish for, both by sea and land, which made our journey and voyage the more pleasanter. We are settled in the Derry, in a very pretty little house, builded after the English fashion, but somewhat with the least (*sic*) for our company; but we will make it bigger if you and Peggy [5] will promise to come and dwell with us.

I doubt not if you were here but that you would like of the country well enough. I thank God I like it indifferent well thus far, and I am made believe that we shall like it every day better than another. We have our fat beeves and fat sheep brought in by our tenants as fast as we can use them, and we want no good company, as my Cousin William can show you, to help eat it up.

I find Derry a better place than we thought we should, for there we find many of our country folks both of gentlemen and gentlewomen, and as brave they go in their apparel as in England. Amongst the rest of the company, I find there dwelling a daughter

[1] John Willoughby was married to the writer's sister Margaret.

[2] This letter was written from Chedzoy, in Somersetshire, where George Montgomery, husband of the writer, had had a rectory bestowed upon him by Queen Elizabeth. He was the brother of Sir Hugh Montgomery, the Laird of Braidstane, and became the first Protestant Bishop of Londonderry. He was ultimately translated to Meath.

[3] Viz., Londonderry, with Clogher and Raphoe *in commendam*.

[4] Brother of John Willoughby.

[5] Margaret Steynings, the writer's sister, wife of John Willoughby.

of our cousin Joan Cockesons: tell Peggy of it, for she knoweth her mother well enough, I am sure of it. The most that I do mislike is that the Irish doth often trouble our house, and many times they doth lend to us a louse, which makes me many times remember my daughter Jane, which told me that if I went into Ireland I should be full of lice. I pray see the poor soul sometimes, and desire Mr. Parker and his wife that she may not want anything that she stands in need of. I wish her with me now, but I hope in God it will not be long before we shall see her and all our other good friends again in England.

Your servant Mary remembereth her humble duty unto you and her Mistress, as also unto her good friend my cousin Bemont, to whom I pray also make Mr. Montgomery's hearty commendation, and mine not forgotten. Mary hath sent her a knot of thread for a token, by my cousin William, and hath also sent my sister a sample of the country's flax and thread. The flax is 6*d.* the pound and the thread 12*d.* the pound, it is very good and the price not dear. Although it looks of colour green it is never the worse for that, but they say that it will be the whiter; if you like of it, and the price, it may be we may hereafter help you to some. I wrote unto you from London once or twice, but I could not hear from you again, whether you received the cambric and lawn which I sent you. I took it very unkindly that you wrote not unto me all that time of the receipt of it.

Thus ceasing to trouble you any further at this time, I end with my hearty commendations to yourself, my good sister, with all the rest of our good friends, my little cousins, your daughters, not forgotten. Praying God to bless them both, and committing you all to the protection of the Almighty; praying God to send us all a good meeting. Derry, this 8th of October.

Your ever loving sister in what I may to the uttermost of my small power,

S. Montgomery.

P.S. Your cousin Bessie Stevens remembereth her hearty commendations unto you. Your brother Nicholas is well, he is now at Dublin with Mr. Montgomery. I leave to my cousin William's report with what a gallant company we were met of captains and aldermen of the city of Derry, and by them conducted to the town. We could not stay my cousin William any longer; I would willingly have had him to have wintered with us, but he made me believe he had great business to be done at home, but he hath faithfully promised to come again at the spring. I think Mr. Montgomery will not set any of his lands before that time, he hath many thousand acres of as good land as any in England:

if it were peopled, it were worth many hundred pounds by the year : he hath great suit made unto him by divers for it. If my cousin William doth dispraise the country believe him not, for truly it is a very fine country. I hope to see you, my cousin Richard Cullum, and my cousin Richard Stevens there one day ; and so once more good brother and sister farewell.

S. M.

PART V

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

LXIX. THE LAND OF IRELAND

(1) Description by Edmund Campion. [*History of Ireland*[1] (ed. Ware, 1633), ch. 1.]

IRELAND lieth aloof in the West Ocean, and is deemed . . . to be in length well nigh 300 miles north and south: broad from east to west 120 [miles]. In proportion it resembleth an egg, blunt and plain on the sides, not reaching forth to sea in nooks and elbows of land, as Britain doth.

Long since it was divided into four regions, Leinster east, Connacht west, Ulster north, Munster south, and into a fifth part defalked (i.e. cut off) from every fourth part, lying together in the heart of the realm, called . . . Meath. Each of these five (where they are framable to civility, and answer the writs of the Crown) be sundered into shires and counties, after this manner.[2] In Leinster lie the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Wexford, Carlow, Kilkenny, King's and Queen's Counties; these two lately so named by Parliament in the reigns of Philip and Mary, having shire towns accordant, Philipstown and Maryborough. Septs, Irish of name, planted in these quarters, they reckon the Byrnes, Tooles, Kavanaghs. . . . Cities of best account, Dublin: the beauty and eye of Ireland, fast by a goodly river which . . . they call the Liffey. The seat hereof is in many respects comfortable, but less frequented of merchant strangers because of the barred haven.[3] Kildare hath Kildare and the Naas. Wexford hath Wexford and Ross. Kilkenny hath Kilkenny, the best dry town in Ireland, on the south side of the river Suir, also Callan and Thomastown.

Meath is divided into East and West Meath, and the county of Longford. Here dwelleth ancient Irish families (sometime princes and potentates) O'Melaghlin, McCoghlan [*etc.*]. This whole part . . . are best employed with husbandry, and taken to be the richest soils in Ireland.

Connacht hath as yet but the County Clare, the town of Athenry and Galway, a proper neat city at the sea side. . . . In it are now chief Irish, Breni O'Reilly, Breni O'Rourke, O'Connor Sligo [*etc.*].

Ulster, wherein O'Neill and O'Donnell are chief Irish, containeth

[1] Edmund Campion, the English Jesuit, wrote his History of Ireland in Dublin or the neighbourhood in 1569. The work was first printed by Stanihurst in Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1577), and then by Sir James Ware in 1633.

[2] See pp. 37–8.

[3] A submerged sandbank lay in the bay formed by deposits from the River Liffey.

he counties Louth, Down, Antrim, one moiety of Drogheda (for the rest is in Meath). Chief town of Louth, Dundalk, of Down, Down and Carlingford, of Drogheda, Drogheda, of Antrim, Knockfergus (called also Carrickfergus). This part is dissevered from Meath and Leinster by the river Boyne, which breaketh out beside Lough Foyle,[1] a bog between Armagh and Saint Patrick's Purgatory.[2] . . .

In Munster lie the counties of Waterford, Limerick, Cork. . . . Waterford hath Dungarvan, and Waterford full of traffic with England, France and Spain, by means of their excellent good haven. Limerick hath Kilmallock lately sacked by James Fitzmaurice[3] and the city of Limerick coasting on the sea, hard upon the river Shannon, whereby are most notably severed Munster and Connacht. Cork hath Kinsale, Youghal and the city Cork; Tipperary hath Tipperary, Clonmel, Fidderstown (? Fethard), Cashel. . . . Here dwell O'Briens, MacNamaras [*etc.*]. . .

Leinster butteth upon England, Munster and Connacht upon France and Spain. Ulster upon the Scottish islands (which face with Hebrides) scattered between both Realms, wherein at this day, the Irish Scot, successor of the old Scythian Pict or Redshank dwelleth. . . .

An old distinction there is of Ireland into Irish and English Pales: for when the Irish had raised continual tumults against the English planted here with the conquest, at last they coursed them into a narrow circuit of certain shires in Leinster, which the English did choose as the fattest soil, most defensible, their proper right, and most open to receive help from England. Hereupon it was termed their Pale, as whereout they durst not peep. But now, both within this Pale uncivil Irish and some rebels do dwell, and without it, countries and cities English are well governed.

(2) Description by William Camden. [*Britannia*[4] (ed. R. Gough, 1789), III. 464.]

The country (according to Giraldus) is uneven, mountainous, soft, watery, woody, exposed to winds, and so boggy that you may see the water stagnating on the mountains. The air (according to Mela)[5] is unfit for bringing corn to maturity; but so productive of vegetables, not only rank but even sweet, that if the cattle feed but a small part of the day they will fill themselves. . . . Hence it is that they have such an infinite quantity of cattle, it being their

[1] Possibly Campion was thinking of the River Bann, but in any case his topography is confused.

[2] A place of pilgrimage situated in an island in Lough Derg, of great repute in the Middle Ages and still the resort of pilgrims.

[3] See p. 168.

[4] Published in 1586.

[5] Pomponius Mela, a Latin geographer who lived in the first century of the Christian era.

principal wealth ;[1] and also many flocks of sheep, which they shear twice every year, and of the coarse wool make mantles or rugs exported to foreign parts. They have also excellent horses which we call "hobbies," and which have not the same kind of movement as others, but a gentle pacing motion. Their hawks likewise are in no small repute ; but these, like all other animals except men and the hunting dogs, which we call greyhounds, are smaller here than in England.[2] The excessive moisture of the air and soil occasions many to be troubled with fluxes and catarrhs, particularly strangers. To stop these they have excellent usquebaugh,[3] much less heating and more drying than ours. The country (to quote the authority of Giraldus) is of all others the most temperate . . . all seasons are almost equally warm by the pleasantness and temperature of the air. Here are such quantities of bees that they are found not only in hives, but in trunks of trees and holes of the earth.[4] It has also vines, but more for shade than fruit. For when the sun quits Leo, cool breezes ensue in this our climate, and the afternoon heats in autumn are too weak and short both here and in Britain to bring grapes to perfection. Besides this there is no snake or venomous creature. The island however swarms with wolves.[5] In short, whether we consider the fruitfulness of the soil, or the convenience of the sea or ports, or the inhabitants, who are warlike, ingenious, comely, extremely soft-skinned, and from the tenderness of their muscles exceeding nimble, the island is in many respects so highly favoured, that Giraldus said, not without reason, "Nature beheld this realm of Zephyr with an uncommonly favourable eye."

(3) Description by Edmund Spenser.[6] [*A View of the Present State of Ireland*, Spenser's *Works* (Globe ed.), pp. 616–17.]

Sure it is . . . a most beautiful and sweet country as any is under heaven : seamed throughout with many goodly rivers, replenished with all sorts of fish, most abundantly sprinkled with many sweet islands and goodly lakes, like little inland seas, that will carry even ships upon their waters, adorned with goodly woods fit for building of houses and ships, so commodiously, as that if some princes in the world had them, they would soon hope to

[1] "This plenty of grass, makes the Irish have infinite multitudes of cattle, and in the heat of the last rebellion, the very vagabond rebels had great multitudes of cows, which they still (like the nomads) drove with them, whithersoever themselves were driven, and fought for them as for their altars and families."—Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary*, IV. 193.

[2] An Act of Edward IV's time (20 Edw. IV, c. 1) recites that goshawks, tiercels and falcons were formerly in great plenty in Ireland, but had become scarce from the number carried away by merchants ; it therefore directs that a tax be paid for every bird exported. —*Irish Statutes* (1786), I. 40.

[3] Ir. *uisge beatha*, water of life, *aqua vitæ*, or whisky.

[4] Before West Indian sugar was introduced into western Europe, honey was a staple commodity.

[5] See p. 168 *n.* 4.

[6] See p. 171 *n.* 1.

be lords of all the seas, and ere long of all the world : also full of good ports and havens opening upon England and Scotland, as inviting us to come to them, to see what excellent commodities that country can afford, besides the soil itself most fertile, fit to yield all kind of fruit that shall be committed thereunto. And lastly, the heavens most mild and temperate, though somewhat more moist than the part towards the west.[1]

(4) **Description by Lord Mountjoy.** ["Discourse concerning Ireland" (March, 1601), *Cal. State Papers, Ireland*, p. 251.]

That it may please her excellent Majesty to conceive of this her Kingdom of Ireland, that it is one of the goodliest provinces of the world, being in itself either in quantity or quality little inferior to her Realm of England, breeding a people of an excellent temper, if it were governed by virtue, which they could not choose but love and follow, if they were taught to know it, abounding with all the sustenance of life, as corn, cattle, fish and fowl ; for inbred riches, as mines for divers sorts of metals, and salts, quarries of ordinary stones and rich marbles ; for means by foreign traffic to be enriched, as divers excellent havens and divers navigable rivers.

That where it hath been counted ever to have been and now to be a burden, rather than a commodity or ornament to the Crown of England, the apparent possibilities of what it may be reduced unto, doth show unto any that with a present and judicial eye doth behold it, what a fair addition in both those kinds might be made of this country to her Majesty's Empire ;[2] and that it hath been far otherwise than it is, the ancient privileges of towns, the huge ruins of great buildings in them, and the like of churches and monasteries, bishops' seats and laymen's castles and inhabitations, doth declare.[3] And when I look back into the estate that long since and of late this Kingdom hath been in, I do more wonder, how it could be lost, than despair in the recovery and perpetual preserving it commodious and honourable to her Majesty's Crown.

LXX. MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE PEOPLE

(1) General Descriptions

(*a*) **Account of Edmund Campion.** [*History of Ireland* (1633 ed.), chs. v. and vi.]

The people are thus inclined ; religious, frank, amorous, ireful, sufferable, of pains infinite, very glorious, many sorcerers, excellent

[1] See C. H. Whitman's *Subject Index to the Poems of Edmund Spenser*, for other direct references made by the poet to Ireland.

[2] This opinion was frequently expressed throughout the sixteenth century by English officials. See, for example, *Cal. Carew MSS.*, I. 105, 109, 115–16.

[3] The ruins of abbeys and churches built during the mediæval period by Anglo-Norman barons and Irish chiefs are still to be seen in considerable numbers scattered over the country. See Joyce, *Social History of Ancient Ireland*, I. 362 ; A. C. Champneys, *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture*.

horsemen, delighted with wars, great almsgivers, passing in hospitality. . . . The uplandish are lightly abused to believe and avouch idle miracles and revelations vain and childish,[1] greedy of praise they be, and fearful of dishonour. And to this end they esteem their poets who write Irish learnedly, and pen their sonnets heroical, for the which they are bountifully rewarded.[2] But if they send out libels in dispraise, thereof the gentlemen, especially the mere (pure) [3] Irish, stand in great awe. They love tenderly their foster-children,[4] and bequeath to them a child's portion, whereby they nourish sure friendship, so beneficial every way, that commonly 500 kine and better are given in reward to win a nobleman's child to foster. They are sharp-witted, lovers of learning, capable of any study whereunto they bend themselves, constant in travail, adventurous, intractable, kindhearted, secret in displeasure. . . .

Clear men they are of skin and hue, but of themselves careless and bestial. Their women are well-favoured, clear-coloured, fair-handed, big and large. . . . Linen shirts the rich do wear for wantonness and bravery, with wide hanging sleeves pleated, 30 yards are little enough for one of them. They have now left their saffron, and learn to wash their shirts, four or five times in a year. Proud they are of long crisped glibs,[5] and do nourish the same with all their cunning : to crop the front thereof they take it for a notable piece of villainy. Shamrocks, watercresses, roots and other herbs they feed upon, oatmeal and butter they cram together. They drink whey, milk and beef-broth, flesh they devour without bread, corn such as they have they keep for their horses. . . .

One office in house of great men is a tale-teller, who bringeth his lord on sleep with tales vain and frivolous, whereunto the number give sooth and credence. So light they are in believing whatsoever is with any countenance of gravity affirmed by their superiors, whom they esteem and honour, that a lewd prelate within these few years needy of money, was able to persuade his parish : that Saint Patrick in striving with Saint Peter to let an Irish gallowglass into Heaven, had his head broken with the keys, for whose release he obtained a collation.

Without either the precepts or observation of congruity they speak Latin like a vulgar language, learned in their common schools of leechcraft and law, whereat they begin children, and hold on sixteen or twenty years conning by rote the Aphorisms of Hippocrates, and the Civil Institutions and a few other parings of those two faculties. I have seen them where they kept school, ten in some one chamber,

[1] See p. 58 *n.* 1. [2] See pp. 341–2. [3] See p. 234 *n.* 1.

[4] Fosterage, or the practice of sending children to be educated with the family of another member of the clan, dated from the earliest times. It led to political alliances and gave the upper classes a following among the lower ; foster relationships were therefore banned by the English.—Joyce, *Social History*, II. 14–19. See pp. 353–4.

[5] See p. 113 *n.* 1.

grovelling upon couches of straw, their books at their noses, themselves lying flat prostrate, and so to chant out their lessons by piecemeal, being the most part lusty fellows of twenty-five years and upwards.[1]

Other lawyers they have, liable to certain families, which after the custom of the country determine and judge causes. These consider of wrongs offered and received among their neighbours, be it murder or felony or trespass, all is redeemed by composition [2] (except the grudge of parties seek revenge) and the time they have to spare from spoiling and "proyning" (robbing) they lightly bestow in "parling" (talking) about such matters. The Brehon (so they call this kind of lawyer) sitteth him down on a bank, the lords and gentlemen at variance round about him, and then they proceed.

They honour devout friars and pilgrims, suffer them to pass quietly, spare them and their mansions, whatsoever outrage they show to the country besides them. To rob and prey their enemies they deem it none offence, nor seek any means to recover their loss, but even to watch them the like turn. But if neighbours and friends send their caterers to purloin each other, such actions are judged by the Brehons aforesaid. . . .

They exchange by commutation of wares for the most part, and have utterly no coin stirring in any great lords' houses.[3] Some of them be richly plated: their ladies are trimmed rather with massy jewels, than with garish apparel. . . .

The inheritance descendeth not to the son, but to the brother, nephew or cousin-germain eldest and most valiant: [4] for the child being oftentimes left in nonage, or otherwise young and unskilful, were never able to defend his patrimony, being his no longer than he can hold it by force of arms. But by that time he grow to a competent age, and have buried an uncle or two, he also taketh his turn, and leaveth it in like order to his posterity. This custom breedeth among them continual wars and treasons.

(*b*) Account of Fynes Moryson. [*Itinerary* (1617), III. iii. 162–4.]

The wild, and as I may say, "mere" [5] Irish, inhabiting many and large provinces, are barbarous and most filthy in their diet. They scum the seething pot with an handful of straw, and strain their milk taken from the cow through a like handful of straw, none of the cleanest, and so cleanse, or rather more defile the pot and milk. They devour great morsels of meat unsalted, and they eat com-

[1] See p. 65.

[2] A reference to the Irish "eric" (*éiric*, a fine), or payment for homicide, which was analogous to the Welsh "galanas" or death fine and to the Anglo-Saxon "wergeld." See Seebohm, *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*. See p. 352 *n.* 1.

[3] See p. 69. [4] See p. 59 *n.* 2. See p. 234 *n.* 1.

monly swine's flesh, seldom mutton, and all these pieces of flesh . . . they seethe in a hollow tree, lapped in a raw cow's hide, and so set over the fire, and therewith swallow whole lumps of filthy butter. . . . The foresaid wild Irish do not thresh their oats, but burn them from the straw, and so make cakes thereof, yet they seldom eat this bread, much less any better kind, especially in the time of war. . . . They willingly eat the herb Shamrock, being of a sharp taste, which as they run and are chased to and fro, they snatch like beasts out of the ditches. Neither have they any beer made of malt and hops, nor yet any ale, no, not the chief lords, except it be very rarely : but they drink milk like nectar, warmed with a stone first cast into the fire, or else beef-broth mingled with milk ; but when they come to any market town to sell a cow or a horse, they never return home, till they have drunk the price in Spanish wine (which they call the King of Spain's Daughter), or in Irish "usquebaugh" [1] and till they have out-slept two or three days' drunkenness. And not only the common sort, but even the lords and their wives, the more they want this drink at home, the more they swallow it when they come to it, till they be as drunk as beggars. Many of these wild Irish eat no flesh, but that which dies of disease, or otherwise of itself . . . they desire no broth, nor have any use of a spoon. . . . It is strange and ridiculous, but most true, that some of our carriage horses falling into their hands, when they found soap and starch, carried for the use of our laundresses, they, thinking them to be some dainty meats, did eat them greedily, and when they stuck in their teeth cursed bitterly the gluttony of us English churls, for so they term us. . . .

These wild Irish never set any candles upon tables ; what do I speak of tables ? [2] since indeed they have no tables, but set their meat upon a bundle of grass, and use the same grass for napkins to wash their hands. But I mean that they do not set candles upon any high place to give light to the house, but place a great candle made of reeds and butter upon the floor in the midst of a great room. And in like sort the chief men in their houses make fires in the midst of the room, the smoke whereof goeth out at a hole in the top thereof. . . .

I trust no man expects among these gallants any beds, much less feather beds and sheets, who like the nomads removing their dwellings, according to the commodity of pastures for their cows, sleep under the canopy of Heaven, or in a poor house of clay, or in a cabin made of the boughs of trees, and covered with turf, for such are the dwellings of the very lords among them. And in such places, they make a fire in the midst of the room, and round about

[1] See p. 313 *n.* 3.

[2] The Irish poor did not as a rule use tables. High tables were used at feasts, and certain small low tables have been found in bogs.—Joyce, *Social History*, II. 110.

it they sleep upon the ground, without straw or other thing under them, lying all in a circle about the fire, with their feet towards it.[1] And their bodies being naked, they cover their heads and upper parts with their mantles which they first make very wet, steeping them in water of purpose, for they find that when their bodies have once warmed the wet mantles, the smoke of them keeps their bodies in temperate heat all the night following. And this manner of lodging, not only the "mere"[2] Irish lords and their followers use, but even some of the English Irish lords and their followers when after the old but tyrannical and prohibited manner, vulgarly called "coshering," they go, as it were, on progress, to live upon their tenants, till they have consumed all the victuals that the poor men have or can get.[3]

To conclude, not only in lodging passengers, not at all or most rudely, but even in their hospitality towards them, these wild Irish are not much unlike to wild beasts, in whose caves a beast passing that way might perhaps find meat, but not without danger to be ill-entertained, perhaps devoured of his insatiable host.[4]

(c) Account of Captain Cuellar.[5] [*Account of the Irish* (1589), tr. by R. Crawford in H. Allingham's *Captain Cuellar's Adventures in Connacht and Ulster*, pp. 61–2.]

The custom of these savages[6] is to live as the brute beasts among the mountains, which are very rugged in that part of Ireland

[1] Giraldus Cambrensis describes the Welsh as sleeping in this manner. See W. K. Sullivan's Introduction to O'Curry's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, I. cccliii.

[2] See p. 234 *n.* 1. [3] See p. 329.

[4] Fynes Moryson, like many other Englishmen, wrote with a considerable amount of prejudice. A good example of the anti-Irish feeling in England, produced by Tyrone's war, will be found in Thomas Churchyard's poem entitled *The Fortunate Farewell to the . . . Earl of Essex* (1599), from which the following lines are selected as typical:—

> The sons of shame and children of God's wrath,
> With wolfish minds like breechless bears they go;
> Through woods and bogs and many a crooked path:
> Lying like dogs, in litter, dung and straw,
> Rude as brute beasts that know no rule or law.
> Fostered from faith, and fear of God and man,
> Unlearned, untaught of any graces good,
> Nursed up in vice, where falsehood first began. . . .

See also Barnaby Rich's account of the nature of the Irish in his *Description of Ireland* (1610), ch. iv.

[5] Don Francisco Cuellar was a Spanish captain who was wrecked upon the coast of Sligo after the rout of the Spanish Armada. He wandered for seven months among the mountains of Donegal, and finally escaped to Scotland, and so to Holland. His narrative, which is written in the form of a letter from Antwerp dated 4 Oct., 1589, was first published by Duro in his *La Armada Invencible* (1885). Other English translations are to be found in *Spanish Armada Tracts*, No. 1 (ed. H. D. Sedgwick), and in the *Procs. Roy. Ir. Acad.* (1893), III. 175–217.

[6] The term "savage" was a conventional one, used also of the Scots. See *Cal. S. P. Venetian*, V. 540, and Mrs. Green's *Making of Ireland*, Append., p. 556.

where we lost ourselves. They live in huts made of straw. The men are all large-bodied, and of handsome features and limbs ; and as active as the roe deer. They do not eat oftener than once a day, and this is at night ; and that which they usually eat is butter with oaten bread. They drink sour milk, for they have no other drink ; they do not drink water, although it is the best in the world. On feast days they eat some flesh half-cooked, without bread or salt, as that is their custom. They clothe themselves, according to their habit, with tight trousers, and short loose coats of very coarse goats' hair. They cover themselves with "mantas" (blankets) and wear their hair down to their eyes. They are great walkers, and inured to toil. They carry on perpetual war with the English, who here keep garrison for the Queen, from whom they defend themselves, and do not let them enter their territory, which is subject to inundation and marshy. . . .

The chief inclination of these people, is to be robbers, and to plunder each other ; so that no day passes without a call to arms among them. For the people in one village becoming aware that in another there are cattle or other effects, they immediately come armed in the night, and go "Santiago" [1] (attack) and kill one another ; and the English from the garrisons, getting to know who had taken and robbed most cattle, then come down upon them, and carry away the plunder. They have therefore, no other remedy but to withdraw themselves to the mountains, with their women and cattle ; for they possess no other property, nor more moveables nor clothing. They sleep upon the ground, on rushes, newly cut and full of water and ice.

The most of the women are very beautiful, but badly dressed. They do not wear more than a chemise, and a blanket, with which they cover themselves, and a linen cloth, much doubled, over the head, and tied in front. They are great workers and housekeepers, after their fashion. These people call themselves Christians. Mass is said among them, and regulated according to the orders of the Church of Rome. The great majority of their churches, monasteries, and hermitages, have been demolished by the hands of the English, who are in garrison, and of those natives who have joined them, and are as bad as they. In short, in this Kingdom there is neither justice nor right, and everyone does what he pleases.[2]

[1] A Spanish war cry. Saint James is the patron Saint of Spain.

[2] The following account of the Irish was presented to Philip II by Diego Ortiz in 1567 : "As a nation they are most improvident. They live almost wholly on meat and use but little bread. The fault is not with the land : it is extremely fertile . . . but the people are lazy and do not like work. What four men sow, a hundred come to reap, and he who has most success in robbing his neighbours is counted most a man. There is little order among them beyond the jurisdiction of the towns. Every petty gentleman lives in a stone tower, where he gathers into his service all the rascals of the neighbourhood ; and of these towers there is an infinite number."—Froude, *Hist. of England*, X. 479–80.

(d) An Unknown Traveller's Account of Ireland (1579).[1] [Tr. and pr. in Cardinal Moran's *History of the Catholic Archbishops of Dublin*, pp. 91–3.]

Money is rarely used in this country, and purchases are for the most part made by exchange of goods.

If you except the port towns, there are no hotels or lodging houses to be found in the island. Every traveller sets up in the first house he meets, and there is provided with whatever he desires, gratuitously. Table is not usually laid until evening, but in the meantime drink is not denied to travellers. There are eight sorts of draughts: beer made of barley and water, milk, whey, wine, broth, mead, "usquebaugh"[2] and spring water.

The men wrap themselves up in mantles: the women wear large linen wide-spreading bonnets. The knives which are used at table are so long, that they exceed even their daggers in size. The more honourable person sits in the centre; the next in dignity sits at his right, and so on in order until the range of seats is filled. All sit facing towards the entrance door: that thus, they say, they may be always ready to repel the attacks of their enemies.

They are so firmly attached to the Catholic faith, that they seem never to have given ear to the heretics. They arise at midnight for prayer and meditation, to which some devote an entire hour . . . at the Lord's Prayer in the Mass, they arise, and remain standing during its recital. . . .

Although they are devoid of all polite training, they nevertheless treat each other with such kindness and urbanity, that during six months, I did not see even the soldiers come once to blows: this spirit of concord seems to extend to the horses and dogs, wherefor I am disposed to refer it all to the mildness of the climate. . . .

They show an inviolable fidelity to their chiefs, at whose discretion they make peace or war. In battle each one follows his own natural ardour, and rushes on the ranks of the enemy without paying attention to the course pursued by his companions.[3] In swiftness, they equal and sometimes surpass their horses. They freely seat themselves on hay, or straw or grass; but they avoid the hard ground and benches. They mount their horses, seizing them by the left ear, and using nothing to support their feet. They use no leggings, and never even make them.

The nobility are clothed in garments made of skin and adorned with various colours.

They cultivate sacred poetry with great assiduity . . . when

[1] This document is printed in full in the original Latin in the *Archivium Hibernicum* (1916), V. 17–9. It was probably written by a Spaniard who accompanied James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald on his expedition to Ireland in 1579, and presented to the Holy See in 1581.

[2] See p. 313 *n.* 3.

[3] For extracts illustrating the methods of Irish warfare, see pp. 218–20.

important negotiations have to be made, the bards are always chosen as the negotiators.

At meals, before the thanksgiving is made, the bishop or priests who may be present make an exhortation, and all listen to it with great attention.

(e) A Criticism of English Historians. [Geoffrey Keating,[1] "History of Ireland," *Irish Texts Society*, I. 3–7; 57–77.]

Whosoever proposes to trace and follow up the ancient history and origin of any country ought to determine on setting down plainly the method which reveals most clearly the truth of the state of the country, and the condition of the people who inhabit it: and forasmuch as I have undertaken to investigate the groundwork of Irish historical knowledge, I have thought at the outset of deploring some part of her affliction and of her unequal contest; especially the unfairness which continues to be practised on her inhabitants, alike the old foreigners who are in possession more than 400 years from the Norman invasion down, as well as the native Irish who have had possession during almost 3,000 years. For there is no historian of all those who have written on Ireland from that epoch that has not continuously sought to cast reproach and blame both on the old foreign settlers and on the native Irish.

Whereof the testimony given by Cambrensis, Spenser, Stanihurst, Hanmer, Camden, Barckly, Moryson, Davies, Campion, and every other new foreigner who has written on Ireland from that time, may bear witness; inasmuch as it is almost according to the fashion of the beetle they act, when writing concerning the Irish. For it is the fashion of the beetle, when it lifts its head in the summer time, to go about fluttering, and not to stoop towards any delicate flower that may be in the field, or any blossom in the garden, though they be all roses or lilies, but it keeps bustling about until it meets with dung of horse or cow, and proceeds to roll itself therein. Thus it is with the set above-named; they have displayed no inclination to treat of the virtues or good qualities of the nobles among the old foreigners and the native Irish who then dwelt in Ireland; such as to write on their valour and on their piety, on the number of abbeys they had founded, and what land and endowments for worship they had bestowed on them; on the privileges they had granted to the learned professors of Ireland, and all the reverence they manifested towards churchmen and prelates; on every immunity they secured for their sages, and the maintenance they provided for the poor and for orphans; on

[1] Keating was a descendant of the early English settlers and was born in County Tipperary. He was educated in Bordeaux and returned to Ireland early in the seventeenth century. His *History of Ireland* was finished about the year 1629, though not printed for nearly a hundred years. It was the most popular book ever written in Irish, and was widely circulated in manuscript.

each donation they were wont to bestow on the learned and on petitioners, and on the extent of their hospitality to guests, insomuch that it cannot truthfully be said that there ever existed in Europe folk who surpassed them, in their own time, in generosity or in hospitality according to their ability. Bear witness the literary assemblies which were proclaimed by them,[1] a custom not heard of among any other people in Europe, so that the stress of generosity and hospitality among the old foreigners and the native Irish of Ireland was such that they did not deem it sufficient to give to any that should come seeking relief, but issued a general invitation summoning them, in order to bestow valuable gifts and treasure on them. However, nothing of all this is described in the works of the present-day foreigners, but they take notice of the ways of inferiors and wretched little hags, ignoring the worthy actions of the gentry. . . .

Whoever should determine to make a minute search for ill customs, or an investigation into the faults of inferior people, it would be easy to fill a book with them ; for there is no country in the world without a rabble. Let us consider the rough folk of Scotland, the rabble-rout of Great Britain, the plebeians of Flanders, the insignificant fellows of France, the poor wretches of Spain, the ignoble caste of Italy, and the unfree tribe of every country besides, and a multitude of ill-conditioned evil ways will be found in them ; howbeit, the entire country is not to be disparaged on their account. . . . Since it is thus that Fynes Moryson has acted, writing about the Irish, I think it is not allowable he should have the repute of an historian ; and so I say also of Campion. . . .

(Sir) John Davies finds fault with the legal system of the country, because, as he thinks, there are three evil customs in it.[2] The first custom of these is that the tanist takes precedence of the son of the lord of the soil.[3] The second custom is the division which was made on the land between brethren, which the Galls[4] call gavelkind[5] . . . the third custom is to take eric for the slaying of man.[6] My answer in this matter is, that there is not a country in the world in which a change is not made in statutes and customs, according as the condition of the country alters. . . . Though (these customs) are not suitable for Ireland now, they were necessary at the time they were established. . . .

It is not for hatred nor for love of any set of people beyond another, nor at the instigation of anyone, nor with the expectation of obtaining profit from it, that I set forth to write the history of

[1] See pp. 334–5. [2] See pp. 351–4. [3] See p. 59 *n.* 2.

[4] Galls (Ir., *Gall*, pl. *Gaill*) originally applied to Gauls from France, later to any invaders, usually before 1172 to the Norsemen and afterwards to the English. See O'Donovan's note, *Book of Rights*, p. 51.

[5] See p. 59 *n.* 4. [6] See p. 316 *n.* 2.

Ireland, but because I deemed it was not fitting that a country so honourable as Ireland, and races so noble as those who have inhabited it, should go into oblivion without mention or narration being left of them : and I think that my estimate in the account I give concerning the Irish ought the rather to be accepted, because it is of the Gaels (native Irish) I chiefly treat. Whoever thinks it much I say for them, it is not to be considered that I should deliver judgment through favour, giving them much praise beyond what they have deserved, being myself of the old Galls (foreigners) as regards my origin.

(2) The Land System

(a) Tribal Lands in Fermanagh. [A Letter from Sir John Davies, Attorney-General of Ireland, to Robert Earl of Salisbury (1607). Davies, *Historical Tracts* (ed. 1786), pp. 253–68.]

For the lands of inheritance in Fermanagh, they stood not in the same terms as the lands of Monaghan : for the seigniory or chiefry, and the demesne lands that were the inheritance of Maguire himself, were reduced and vested in the Crown, by two several inquisitions. . . . But forasmuch as the greatest part of the inhabitants of that country did claim to be freeholders of their several possessions, who surviving the late rebellion had never been attainted ; but having received his Majesty's pardon, stood upright in law, so as we could not clearly entitle the Crown to their lands . . . therefore it was thought meet to empanel a jury of the most sufficient inhabitants, to enquire and present how many freeholds there were, and what lands they held in this county, and what certain rents and services they yielded to the Maguires, or other chieftains and tanists in ancient times.[1] Though this was a business of some labour, because the custom of gavelkind had made such petty fractions and divisions of the possessions of this county, as the number of freeholders were exceedingly great, yet within two days they brought in their inquisition, in Irish ; which being translated into English, appeared to be confused in general, and without method ; wherewith my Lord Deputy not being satisfied . . . commanded me . . . to call the Grand Jury, who had made the former presentment, and with them the chief inhabitants of every barony, and by conference with them to digest the business. . . .

First, we thought meet to distinguish the possessions ; next to enquire of the particular possessors thereof. Touching the possessions ; we found Fermanagh to be divided into 7 baronies . . . each of these baronies containeth $7\frac{1}{2}$ ballybetaghs of land, chargeable with Maguire's rent, and other contributions of the

[1] See p. 280 *n.* 1.

country; every ballybetagh is divided into 4 quarters of land, and every quarter into 4 tathes.[1] . . .

Touching the free land, we found it to be of three kinds; Church land or "termon" land, as the Irish call it. Secondly, the mensal land of Maguire. Thirdly, lands given to certain septs privileged among the Irish, viz: the lands of the chroniclers, rhymers and gallowglass. . . .

The Church land was either monastery land, coarb land[2] or erenach's land: for it did not appear unto us, the bishop had any land in demesne, but certain mensal duties of the coarbs, and erenachs. . . . I had heard of the name of a coarb and an erenach divers times since I came into this Kingdom, and would gladly have learned of our clergymen at Dublin, what kind of religious persons they were: but I never could be satisfied by any; and therefore at this time, I was the more curious and inquisitive to inform myself of these ecclesiastical persons, the like whereof are not to be found in any other part of Christendom, nor in Ireland neither, but only in the countries that are "mere"[3] Irish: when therefore we came to enquire of the quantity of termon lands, I called unto me one of the best learned vicars in all the country, and one that had been a brehon, and had some skill in the Civil and Common laws, and with much ado I got from him thus much light for the understanding of this matter. He told me that the word "termon" doth signify in the Irish tongue, a liberty, or freedom, and that all Church lands whatsoever are called termon lands by the Irish; because they were ever free from all impositions and cuttings of the temporal lords, and had the privilege of sanctuary. . . . For the name of coarb . . . I collect by that which they tell me, that he was a prior or a resident of a collegiate church: for, he did not only possess a good quantity of glebe lands, the tenants and occupiers whereof were called termon men, and had privilege of

[1] A "barony" seems to have meant a definite amount of tax-paying land; it was sub-divided into "quarters" and each "quarter" nominally contained three "ploughlands." A "ploughland" was the amount of land which would afford employment to one plough with a full team of horses or oxen, and was normally valued at 120 acres of arable land. A "quarter" was so-called because 4 "quarters" made a "ballybetagh" and 30 "ballybetaghs" made a "tricha-ced" or "cantred." A "cantred" seems to have been equivalent to a "barony." The size of all these units differed in different districts.—W. F. Butler, "The Lordship of McCarthy Mór," *Journ. Roy. Soc. Antiqs. Irel.* (1906), XXXVI, 358. For other explanations of Irish Land Measures, see Ware's *Antiquities* (ed. Harris), ch. xxxiii; W. K. Sullivan's Introduction to O'Curry's *Manners and Customs*, I. p. lxxviii–xcvii; also see p. 267 *n.* 1.

[2] Coarb, Ir., *comharba*, an heir, or in Church usage the successor of the patron saint or founder of an abbey or bishopric, e.g. the Archbishop of Armagh was the coarb of Saint Patrick. The name "termon" may have been derived from "terminus"—a boundary. The coarb seems to have been the chief tenant of the termon land. The erenach (Ir., *airchinneach*) was apparently of lesser importance; he was the general supervisor or steward of the lands belonging to a church or monastery. See Joyce, *Social History*, I. 389, and references given on p. 268 *n.* 2.

[3] See p. 234 *n.* 1.

clergy, but he had also some rectories appropriate, whereof he had that portion of tithes, which belonged to the parson, and had withal the presentation of the vicarages. He had always his place or seat in a mother church, where he had a certain number of priests serving with him ; in the cathedral church he had a stall in the choir and a voice in the chapter : and this coarbship is named a dignity in the register at Rome . . . lastly, this coarbship was in a manner hereditary ; for though the coarb were ever in orders, yet was he in this Irish country usually married . . . and after his death, if any of his sons were qualified with learning, he was chosen by the dean and chapter to be coarb. . . .

For the erenach, there are few parishes . . . where there is not an erenach, which being an officer of the church, took beginning in this manner : when any lord or gentleman had a direction to build a church, he did first dedicate some good portion of land to some saint or other whom he chose to be his patron ; then he founded the church, and called it by the name of that saint ; and then gave the land to some clerk not being in orders, and to his heirs for ever, with this intent, that he should keep the church clean and well repaired, keep hospitality, and give alms to the poor for the soul's health of the founder. This man and his heirs had the name of erenach. . . .

Touching Maguire's mensal lands, which were free from all common charges and contributions of the country, because they yielded a large proportion of butter and meal, and other provisions for Maguire's table. Albeit the jury and other inhabitants did set forth these mensal lands in certainty, which, lying in several baronies, did not in quantity exceed four ballybetaghs . . . yet touching the certainty of the duties or provisions yielded unto Maguire out of these mensal lands ; they referred themselves unto an old parchment roll, which they called an indenture, remaining in the hands of one O'Bristan, a chronicler and principal Brehon of that country ; whereupon O'Bristan was sent for, who lived not far from the camp, but was so aged and decrepit, as he was scarce able to repair unto us : when he was come, we demanded of him the sight of that ancient roll, wherein as we were informed, not only the certainty of Maguire's mensal duties did appear, but also the particular rents and other services, which were answered to Maguire out of every part of the country. The old man, seeming to be much troubled with this demand, made answer, that he had such a roll in his keeping before the war, but that in the late rebellion, it was burned among other of his papers and books, by certain English soldiers. We were told by some that were present that this was not true ; for they affirmed that they had seen the roll in his hands since the war : thereupon my Lord Chancellor . . . did minister an oath unto him, and gave him a very serious charge to inform us

truly what was become of the roll. The poor old man, fetching a deep sigh, confessed that he knew where the roll was, but that it was dearer to him than his life ; and therefore he would never deliver it out of his hands, unless my Lord Chancellor would take the like oath, that the roll should be restored unto him again ; my Lord Chancellor smiling, gave him his word and his hand that he should have the roll re-delivered unto him, if he would suffer us to take a view and copy thereof ; and thereupon the old Brehon drew the roll out of his bosom, where he did continually bear it about him : it was not very large, but it was written on both sides in a fair Irish character ; howbeit, some part of the writing was worn and defaced with time and ill-keeping : we caused it forthwith to be translated into English, and then we perceived how many vessels of butter and how many measures of meal, and how many porks, and other such gross duties, did arise unto Maguire out of his mensal lands. . . . Besides these mensals, Maguire had 240 beeves, or thereabouts, yearly paid unto him out of all the seven baronies, and about his castle of Eniskillen, he had almost a ballybetagh of land, which he manured with his own churls : and this was Maguire's whole estate in certainty, for in right he had no more, and in time of peace he did exact no more, marry, in time of war he made himself owner of all, cutting what he listed, and imposing as many "bonaghts," or hired soldiers upon them as he had occasion to use.[1] . . .

Concerning the free lands of the third kind, viz., such lands as are possessed by the Irish officers of this country, viz., chroniclers, gallowglass and rhymers : the entire quantity of it . . . doth well nigh make two ballybetaghs and no more. . . . For the several possessions of all these lands we took this course to find them out . . . we called unto us the inhabitants of every barony severally . . . and so calling one barony after another, we had present certain of the clerks or scholars of the country, who knew all the septs and families, and all their branches, and the dignity of one sept above another, and what families or persons were chief of every sept, and who were next, and who were of a third rank and so forth, till they descended to the most inferior man in all the baronies : moreover, they took upon them to tell what quantity of land every man ought to have by the custom of their country, which is of the nature of gavelkind, whereby, as their septs or families did multiply, their possessions have been from time to time divided and sub-divided . . . notwithstanding as Maguire himself had a chiefry over all the country, and some demesnes, that did ever pass

[1] The term "bonaght" (Ir., *buannacht*, free quartering for soldiers) seems sometimes to have been applied by Elizabethan writers to the tax, and sometimes to the soldiers thus supported. For the "bonaght," or wages, of a gallowglass, see *Cal. Carew MSS.*, II. 9 ; IV. 210–12, also a manuscript of the year 1568, printed as an appendix to Butler's edition of Dymmok's *Treatise of Ireland* (1600). See pp. 36 *n.* 4, 328.

to him only who carried that title; so was there a chief of every sept, who had certain services, duties or demesnes, that ever passed to the tanist of that sept, and never was subject to division. . . .

And in this order and method we digested the business, touching the possessors and possessions of this county of Fermanagh, which we presented to my Lord Deputy upon his return from Ballyshannon.

(*b*) Dues of a Chieftain.[1] [*Carew MSS.*, No. 614, p. 162. Pr. in O'Donovan's ed. of the *Four Masters*, V. 1805–6.]

O'Reilly by ancient custom and usage of the country had always out of the baronies of the Cavan and Tullygarvey, and out of every of the other three baronies . . . yearly out of every barony £45, as often as he had any cause to cess the said baronies, either for the Queen's rents and duties, or for any charge towards O'Neill, or other matter, which times was twice or thrice a year, and every time £45, to his own use, besides the charge of the cess.

Item, he had likewise by the same custom and usage all manner of charges that either his son or any other of his men or followers were put into by reason of their being in pledge, or attending by commandment of the Lord Deputy in Dublin, or otherwhere, for matter of the said O'Reilly.

Item, by the said custom, O'Reilly had all manner of fees and pensions and recompenses given by the said O'Reilly to any learned counsel or other solicitor or agent, for the causes of the country, borne and paid by the said country.

Item, by the said custom O'Reilly had yearly, over and above all other duties and customs, towards his charges in going to Dublin, out of every polle, 16*d.* sterling.

Item, by the said custom, he had yearly out of every 8 polles of land through the whole 5 baronies one fat beef for the spending of his house.

Item, by the said custom, he had one horse for himself, one horse for his wife, and one horse for his son . . . with one boy attending upon every horse kept through the whole 5 baronies yearly. . . .

Item, by the said custom, it was lawful for O'Reilly to cess upon the MacBradies, the MacEnroes, the Gones and the Jordans, by the space of three quarters of a year yearly, one footman upon every polle which the said surnames had, to keep his cattle, to reap and bind his corn, to thresh, hedge and ditch, and do other husbandry and mercenary work for the said O'Reilly.

Item, by the said custom, the said O'Reilly had upon the Bradies, the Gones, the MacEnroes and the Jordans, out of every polle of land yearly, three quarters of a fat beef, and out of every 2 polles

[1] This statement was made by Sir John O'Reilly himself in reply to a series of queries proposed to him by a Royal Commission at Cavan, 1585.

one fat pork, and also the cessing of strangers, their men and horses, as often as any did come in friendship to the country.

Item, by the said custom, the said O'Reilly had by duty all manner of charges both for workmen, stuff, and labourers, and victuals, for the building and maintaining of his castle of the Cavan . . . borne and paid by the gentle and others of the barony of the Cavan.[1] . . .

(c) Irish Taxes. [John Dymmok, "A Treatise of Ireland" (1600), *Irish Archæological Society Tracts* (1842), pp. 8–9.]

The Irish taxes or services are of two sorts, either made unto the Queen by the gentlemen towards their defence and maintenance of her forces in the country, as rising-out, bonaght and soren, or else by the lord upon his tenant, as coyne, livery, coshery (etc.).

Of the first sorts, rising-out is a certain number of horse-men and kerne, which the Irishry and Englishry are to find in her Majesty's service at every general hosting, for defence of the country against any foreign enemy, or other invaders, which numbers are also to be victualled by them for certain days, some more, some less.[2]

Bonaght is of two sorts: bonaght-bonny and bonaght-beg. Bonaght-bonny is a certain payment or allowance made unto her Majesty's gallowglass or kerne by the Irishry only, who are severally bound to yield a yearly proportion of victuals and money, of their finding, everyone according to his ability, so that the kerne and gallowglass are kept all the year by the Irishry, and divided at times between them. Bonaght-beg, or little bonaght, is a proportion of money, rateably charged upon every ploughland, towards the finding of the gallowglass.[3]

Soren is a kind of allowance over and above the bonaght, which the gallowglass exact upon the poor people, by way of spending money, viz., 2*s.* 8*d.* for a day and a night, to be divided between 3 "spares"[4] for their meat, drink and lodging. And as the "bonaght" is found by the lords for the Queen's service, so also every particular lord hath a certain number for their own defence, some more, some less, and are maintained upon their tenants.

Of the second sort, Coyne is as much to say as a placing of men and boys upon the country, used by a prerogative of the Brehon law, whereby they are permitted to take meat, drink, *aqua vitæ* and

[1] The Irish customary rents and "exactions" were abolished by Chichester's Proclamation (1605), see pp. 208–10.

[2] The feudal levies of the Crown were drawn from the English districts of the Pale, or supplied by the "mere" Irish in accordance with fixed agreements.

[3] See p. 326 *n.* 1.

[4] A "spare" was a unit composed of a heavily armed gallowglass with "a man for his harness bearer and a boy to carry his provision."—Dymmok, *op. cit.* p. 7.

money of their hosts, without pay-making therefore. As many as keep idle men, take it outrageously where they come, and by the custom of the country it was lawful to place themselves upon whom they would. It is the beggaring of the country and an intolerable evil without measure. Livery is horsemeat, exacted for the horses of those which take coyne, or otherwise send them to the poor tenants to be fed. The tenant must find the horses and boys and give them as much corn and sheaf-oats, wheat and barley as they will have.[1] . . .

Coshery[2] is certain feasts which the lord useth to take of his tenants after Easter, Christmas, Whitsuntide, Michaelmas and all other times at his pleasure; he goeth to their houses with all his train and idle men of his country, and leaveth them not till all they have be spent, and consumed, and holdeth on this course till he have visited all his tenants one after another. . . .

(*d*) The Earl of Tyrone's Rents, described by Sir Toby Caulfield[3] (16 Dec., 1610). [*Cal. S.P. Ireland*, p. 533.]

There was no certain portion of lands let by the traitor Tyrone to any of his tenants that paid him rent. Such rents as he reserved were paid to him partly in money and partly in provisions of victuals, as oats, oatmeal, butter, hogs and mutton. The money rents that were so reserved were chargeable on all the cows that were milch or in calf which grazed on his lands, after the rate of 12*d.* a quarter the year, which cows were to be numbered but twice in the year by Tyrone's officers, viz., at May and Hallowtide, and so the rents were levied and taken up at the said rate for all the cows that were so numbered, except only the heads and principal men of the "creaghts"[4] who in regard of their enabling to live better than the common multitude under them, whom they caused willingly to pay the said rents, were usually allowed a fourth part of the whole rents, which rise to £300 Irish the year, or thereabouts. . . . and for the butter and other victualling provisions they were only paid by such as they termed horsemen, called the Quins, Hagans, Conelands and Devlins, which were rather at the discretion of the givers, who strove who should give most to gain Tyrone's favour, than for any due claim he had to demand the same. All the cows for which those rents are to be levied must be counted at one day in the whole country, which required much travel and labour, and many men to be put in trust with that account, so as that country, which is replenished with woods, do greatly advantage the tenants that are to pay their rents to rid away their cows from that reckoning;

[1] See p. 61 *n.* 1. [2] Ir., *cóisir*, feasting. See pp. 209, 318.

[3] Sir Toby Caulfield was appointed receiver over the lands of the fugitive earls in 1607, and the extract quoted above is part of a general report rendered by him when the lands were given out to undertakers. [4] See p. 61 *n.* 6.

and also to such overseers to be corrupted by the tenants to mitigate their rents by lessening the true number of their cattle, which must needs be conceived they will all endeavour to the uttermost, being men as it were, without conscience and of poor estate, apt to be corrupted for small bribes, which they may the more easily do in regard that the bordering lords adjoining are ready to shelter their cows that should pay those rents, whereby they may procure those tenants to live under them. The said rent is uncertain, because by the custom of the country, the tenants may remove from one lord to another every half year, as usually they do, which custom is allowed by authority from the State.[1]

(e) The Practice of Gavelkind. ["A Note Describing the ancient custom of division of lands, time beyond the memory of man among the O'Sullivans of Beare and Bantry" (8 June, 1587). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, pp. 363–5.]

The proper inheritance of land belonging to the O'Sullivans is fifteen quarters, every quarter containing 3 ploughlands.[2] The one half whereof was by ancient custom allotted to the O'Sullivan, lord of the country for the time being. The other half to be divided and distributed among the worthiest and best of the name, as cousins and kinsmen to the lord, as a portion to live upon, viz., to the tanist, the best part of the said one half, which is two quarters, every quarter containing 3 ploughlands. To the second eldest next the tanist, which is Donall O'Sullivan . . . there is allotted of the said one half 6 ploughlands, and so the rest to be divided amongst the other kinsmen. But it is to be understood, that this order was in some times altered, and so ought to be according the custom of the country, that is according the diminution or increase of the said name of the O'Sullivans; which alteration should be when the name should augment; then everyone's portion were diminished to give living to the new-comer; and if the name were diminished, then the portion of the deceased to be divided among the outlivens.[3] But the lord's portion, which is the first half, did never alter, but continue still to O'Sullivan for the time being. The lord hath also 4 quarters of land belonging to his manor of Foyd, and this with half the 15 quarters aforesaid, is all the land the lord hath in his own possession, howbeit he is chief lord of all the country. There are 20 quarters more in the country, which is the lord's too, but they be allotted to other cousins and kinsmen as their shares of old ancient custom to live upon, paying his rents to the lord, which is but little worth now-a-days, as the

[1] The usual Irish practice, known by English writers as "comyns" (Ir., *commaoin*, a recompense), was for the chief to hire out cattle to his tenants in return for fosterage or rent.—Hill, *Plantation in Ulster*, p. 231. *Cal. S.P.I.* (1611–14), pp. xxi–xxiv.

[2] See p. 324 *n.* 1.

[3] i.e. survivors.

issues descended of Finin Duff O'Sullivan . . . and such like, and every one of them hath his share thereof, paying his rent to the lord for the time being, and at the lord's pleasure he may take the land out of their hands if they had not paid the rent, which in old time was the cessing of his men of war, as gallowglass, kerne, horsemen and such like, besides to pay all his charges whensoever he would come out of his country to any town or city, to sessions, term, service of his Prince, and such like. There is also belonging to O'Sullivan two principal castles as his chief manors, or dwelling, in Beare and Bantry. . . .

The standing rent due to O'Sullivan out or upon his country is but £40, and that itself was ever allotted to the lady for the time being towards her idle expenses, so as the country being no good farm land, but all valleys, cragged rocks and hills, can yield no great commodity, and therefore the O'Sullivan for time being liveth only by the sea, and the commodity thereof, as his fishing, his wrecks and such like. . . .

The reason whereof there is no reservation of rents upon those that hold the same land is, because they were to pay everything that the lord lacked from time to time, as debts, building of a house, or castle, or marrying his daughter, or to supply the wants of his house, and such like.[1]

(3) The Election of a Chieftain

(*a*) An Irish Account. [Lughaidh O'Clery,[2] *Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell* (1586–1602). Ed. and tr. D. Murphy, pp. 111–15.]

[1595.] There came to that same meeting like the rest, to O'Donnell,[3] the chiefs and barons of the country . . . (and) when all these nobles had assembled to Hugh O'Donnell . . . O'Dogherty (Shane Óge) formed, by his orders, four bodies of his troops one after the other round about the liss (court) and the fortification. Eighteen hundred of his soldiers and hired troops and mercenaries hard by the royal rath [4] were in the first body ; O'Dogherty himself

[1] This report upon the customs of the O'Sullivans was the result of a petition made by Donall O'Sullivan to Lord Burghley, against the practices of his uncle, Sir Owen O'Sullivan to detain his lands. *Cal. S.P.I.* (1586–8) p. 365. The clan O'Sullivan was divided into two branches : O'Sullivan Mór and O'Sullivan Beare. The overlord of the O'Sullivans was the MacCarthy Mór (see p. 168 *n.* 2). The MacCarthies claimed over their vassals the right of giving a white rod on the election of their chiefs as a sign of vantage, and the right of receiving so many gallowglass and payments in money and kind. See *Cal. Carew MSS.*, I. 366 ; *Journ. Roy. Soc. Antiqs. Irel.* (1859), V. 374–5.

[2] See p. 177 *n.* 2. The extract given here is a revised version of Murphy's translation.

[3] The O'Donnells were the overlords of Connacht, and as the chieftainship of the Burkes was in dispute, Hugh O'Donnell, who was at this time in Mayo, exercised his right of arbitration.

[4] A circular earthen entrenchment with a mound in the centre, upon which stood the chief's dwelling.

and O'Boyle Tadhg Óge with the recruits of Tyrconnel outside the latter, in the second circle ; the three MacSweeneys with their gallow-glass outside them ; the men of Connacht with their muster outside them all ; O'Donnell himself with his chiefs and nobles in military formation on the mound of the rath, and no one however noble or distinguished dared to come into his presence in the rath but whom he would cause to be summoned to him in turn. He proceeded then to examine and make provision with the chiefs who were with him as to what he should do to the nobles in reference to the title they were disputing over. He summoned to him the barons and chiefs of the territory according to rank, to ask them in turn which of the nobles he should appoint to the chieftaincy of the territory. MacMaurice, MacDonnell and O'Malley said with one voice that it was right that the senior, William Burke, should be named chief, as their custom was to appoint the elder in preference to the younger. MacCostello and MacJordan said it was right that Theobald, son of Walter Ciotach, son of John, son of Oliver, should be named chief, for he was energetic and vigorous by day and by night, at home and abroad, whether he had a few or many with him.

When O'Donnell had considered his purpose he resolved in the end to confer the chieftainship of the territory on Theobald . . . and he ordered the son of Theobald to proclaim him Mac-William. That was done as ordered, for he was called by the name in presence of the assembled forces, though there were others of his clan older in years and better known than he. Yet it was he (Theobald) that had come first to him when expelled and banished from his territory, and he (O'Donnell) had promised to restore him to his territory, if he could. Besides, he (Theobald) was in the full tide of his age and valour with a view to the suffering and hardships of the war in which he (O'Donnell) was engaged, and moreover this Theobald was of that family the one the most hated by the English, and the Irish would have less suspicion of him on that account.

(*b*) Election of a Tanist. [Edmund Spenser, *A View of the present State of Ireland*, Spenser's *Works* (Globe ed.), pp. 611–12.]

Eudoxus : What is this that you call Tanist and Tanistry ? [1] They be names and terms never heard of nor known to us.

Irenæus : It is a custom among all the Irish, that presently after the death of any their chief lords and captains, they do presently assemble themselves to a place, generally appointed and known unto them, to choose another in his stead ; where they do nominate and elect, for the most part, not the eldest son, nor any

[1] See p. 59 *n.* 2.

of the children of their lord deceased, but the next to him of blood, that is the eldest and worthiest; as commonly the next brother to him if he have any, or the next cousin-german, or so forth, as any is elder in that kindred or sept, and then next to him they choose the next of blood to be Tanist, who shall next succeed him in the said captainry, if he live thereunto.

EUDOXUS: Do they not use any ceremonies in this election? . . .

IRENÆUS: They use to place him that shall be their captain upon a stone always reserved for that purpose, and placed commonly upon a hill: in many of the which I have seen the foot of a man, formed and engraven, which they say was the measure of their first captain's foot, whereon he standing receiveth an oath to preserve all the former ancient customs of the country inviolable, and to deliver up the succession peaceably to his Tanist, and then hath a wand delivered unto him by some whose proper office that is; after which, descending from the stone, he turneth himself round about, thrice forward and thrice backward.

EUDOXUS: But how is the Tanist chosen?

IRANÆUS: They say he setteth but one foot upon the stone, and receiveth the like oath that the captain did. . . . I have heard that the beginning and cause of this ordinance amongst the Irish, was specially for the defence and maintenance of their lands in their posterity and for excluding of all innovation or alienation thereof unto strangers, and specially to the English. For when their captain died, if the seigniory should descend to his child, and he perhaps an infant, another might peradventure step in between, or thrust him out by strong hand, being then unable to defend his right . . . therefore they do appoint the eldest of the kin to have the seigniory, for that he commonly is a man of stronger years, and better experience to maintain the inheritance, and to defend the country. . . . And to this end the Tanist is alway ready known, if it should happen the captain suddenly to die, or to be slain in battle, or to be out of the country, to defend and keep it from all such doubts and dangers. For which cause the Tanist hath also a share of the country allotted unto him, and certain cuttings and spendings upon all the inhabitants under the lord.[1]

[1] The following is the account given by Ware (*Antiquities*, ch. x.) of the investiture of the O'Donnells: "When any person was . . . to be created King of the territory, the nobility and people assembled themselves on the summit of a certain hill, when one of the principal of the nobility arose, and performing the usual compliments of salutation, presented the new King with a wand perfectly white and straight, and upon the delivery of it used this form of words: 'Receive, O King, the auspicious badge of your authority, and remember to imitate in your conduct the straightness and whiteness of this wand, that neither malice to your enemies, nor affection to your friends may bend your mind from walking in the exact paths of justice.'" See Hore, "Inauguration of Irish Chiefs," *Ulst. Journ. Arch.* (1857), V. 216.

(4) Noble Households

(*a*) The Feast of Margaret O'Connor.[1] ["Annals of Dubhaltach MacFirbisigh," f. 1, 18. Pr. in O'Donovan's ed. of the *Four Masters*, IV. 972–3, *n.* t.]

A gracious year this year (1451) was, though the glory and solace of the Irish was set but the glory of heaven was amplified and extolled therein; and although this is a year of grace (Jubilee) with the Roman Church, it is an ungracious and inglorious year to all the learned in Ireland, both philosophers, poets, guests, strangers, religious persons, soldiers, mendicant or poor orders, and to all manner and sorts of the poor in Ireland, also for the general support of their maintenance's decease, to wit, Margaret . . . O'Connor Faly, Calvagh's wife.[2] . . . It is she that twice in one year (1433) proclaimed to and commonly invited . . . all persons, both Irish and Scottish, or rather Albans, to two general feasts of bestowing both meat and moneys, with all manner of gifts, whereunto gathered to receive gifts the number of 2,700 persons, besides gamesters and poor men, as it was recorded in a roll to that purpose, and that account was made thus, *ut vidimus*, viz., the chief "kins" of each family of the learned Irish was by Gilla-na-naemh Mac-Aegan's hand, the chief judge to O'Connor, written in the roll, and his adherents and kinsmen, so that the aforesaid number of 2,700 was listed in that roll with the arts of *Dán*, or poetry, music and antiquity. And Maelin O'Maelconry, one of the chief learned of Connacht, was the first written in that roll, and first paid and dieted, or set to supper, and those of his name after him, and so forth everyone as he was paid he was written in that roll, for fear of mistake, and set down to eat afterwards. And Margaret on the "Garrots" (watch towers) of the great church of Dá Sinchell clad in cloth of gold, her dearest friends about her, her clergy and judges, too. Calvagh himself on horseback by the church's outward side, to the end that all things might be done orderly, and each one served successively.

And first of all she gave two chalices of gold as offerings that day on the altar to God Almighty, and she also caused to nurse or foster two young orphans. But so it was we never saw nor heard neither the like of that day nor comparable to its glory and solace. And she gave the second inviting proclamation (to everyone that came not that day), on the feast day of the Assumption of Our Blessed Lady Mary in harvest, at or in the Rathangan,[3] and

1 Festivals similar to that described here, were probably held by some of the Irish chieftains during the sixteenth century. For an essay upon Margaret and her husband, see Mrs. Green, *The Old Irish World*, ch. iii.

2 Margaret died in 1451.

3 Ir., *Rath Imgain*, now Rathangan, Co. Kildare.

so we have been informed that that second day in Rathangan was nothing inferior to the first day.

And she was the only woman that has made most of preparing highways and erecting bridges, churches and mass books (*sic*), and of all manner of things profitable to serve God and her soul, and not that only, but while the world stands her very many gifts to the Irish and Scottish nations shall never be numbered.

(*b*) Hospitality of Cú Chonnacht Óg Maguire (*ob.* 1589). [Poem by Tadhg Dall Ó Huiginn.][1]

(1) Alas for him who looks on Enniskillen, with its glistening bays and melodious falls ; it is perilous for us, since one cannot forsake it, to look upon the fair castle with its shining sward.

(2) Long ere ever I came to the white-walled rampart amongst the blue hillocks, it seemed to me if I could reach that house I should lack nothing.

(3) I heard, alas for me that heard it, such repute of the fairy castle of surpassing treasure, and how my beguilement was in store, that it was impossible to turn me back from it.

(4) This was the saying of each man regarding the splendid dwelling of the lion of the Erne—no man in *Banbha* ever saw a habitation to equal it.

(5) And they used to say, moreover, whosoever should see the bending wood, or the verdant slope, the level beach or the green field, would not take one step away from it.

(6) After hearing its description, when I slept for a while, I beheld no other vision save the splendour of the noble, spacious dwelling.

(7) I proceed on my way, I reached Enniskillen of the bending oaks ; through the fair plain of fruit-laden stems, I was in no wise loth to approach it.

(8) Ere I arrived beside the place I was startled at the tumult ; the baying of their lively hounds, and their hunting-dogs driving deer from the woods for them.

(9) The strand beside the court, on the fairy-like bay of murmuring streams, was crowded with such a grove of tapering shipmasts that they concealed the beach and its waves.

(10) And hard by that enclosure, I see a lovely plain of golden radiance—the moist-surfaced lawn of the bright-hued castle ; the soil of Paradise, or else its very counterpart.

[1] The translation of this Irish poem (a synopsis of which will be found in O'Grady's *Cat. of Irish MSS. in the Brit. Museum*, pp. 431–2) has been kindly supplied by Miss Knott, from her edition of the poems of Tadhg Dall ÓHuiginn (Irish Texts Soc.)

(11) Thus did I find the lawn of the castle—up-turned by the hooves of steeds ; from the prancing of horses competing for triumph no herb flourished in the soil of the outer yard.

(12) The horses of the castle [were] running in contest, again I see them coursing one by one, until the surrounding hills were hidden, and no mist was upon them save the faces of steeds.

(13) I make directly for the coupled castle of the branch of *Lie* ; those whom I found in the fair mansion—a wondrous content of a mansion were they.

(14) I found the nobles of the race of *Colla* in the thronged court, distributing treasure ; and those who exposed the recondities of the genealogy of the Grecian Gaels.

(15) I found, moreover, throughout the fortress, plenty of poets and minstrels, from one bright-surfaced wall to the other, happy the dwelling in which they find room !

(16) In the other division I found plenty of slender-lipped, satin-clad maidens, weaving wondrous golden fringes in the . . . ? rampart abounding in fair, sleek hounds.

(17) All through the house is an abundance of soldiery, reclining on the side benches ; their edged weapons hanging above the fighters, warriors of fruitful *Druim Caoin*.

(18) A mighty band of elfin youth, either from the Fairymound of *Bodhbh* or from Lear's Hostel, such that eye dared not regard them because of their splendour, were on the battlements of the bright, wooded (*or* branching) rampart.

(19) A company of artificers binding vessels, a company of smiths preparing weapons ; a company of wrights, that were not from one land, at work upon her—fair pearl of babbling streams.

(20) Dyeing of textures, polishing of blades, fitting of javelins, exercising of steeds ; captives in surety, drawing up of conditions, scholars surveying (*or possibly* in charge of) the list of kings.

(21) Taking of hostages, releasing of hostages ; healing of warriors, wounding of warriors, continual bringing in and giving out of treasure at the wondrous, smooth, comely, firm castle.

(22) Part of that day they would spend in talking of exploits, in meditating on battle ; and a while would be spent by the host of Ushnagh in feasting, in listening to music.

(23) Thus till supper-time we spent the whole of the fair day in the bright, green-swarded, fertile enclosure ; as one hour in length did that day seem to us.

(24) All began to seat themselves on the smooth benches of the white rampart ; hardly in any hostel is there a number to equal the party that was therein.

(25) *Cú Chonnacht Óg*, Son of *Cú Chonnacht*, supple form to which smoke clings (i.e. heated by manly exercise), when all that were in his hostel had sat down he seated himself on his regal seat.

(26) I sat on the right-hand of the champion of Tara, till the circling of goblets was over ; although it had its due of nobles the king's elbow never disdained me.

(27) After a while, when it was time for those in the castle to take their rest, beds of down were prepared for the noblest of the alert, hot-necked host.

(28) Ere day overtook the people of the hostel a band of them were fitting spears . . . while men were going to catch horses.

(29) Shortly after sleep I see around the hawk of *Síth Truim* the picked ones of all in panoply of battle, in the gloomless, stone-built, firmly standing court.

(30) Ere the coming of morn the valiant youth of the king's court set out from us ; a great, lengthy, dense, spear-armed mass ; ignorant they of making terms of peace !

(31) It was not long until the gold-ringletted (*or* -cupped) race of *Colla* rejoined us, after completely subduing every territory ; happy that kingdom which is their home-land !

(32) That day around Loch Erne there is many a stranger woman whose husband is no more ; many figures of wounded hostages coming in after the conflict.

(33) Precious treasures there were in that house which had not been theirs at the beginning of day ; and hard by the place there were cattle which had not been near them the night before.

(34) Then were the poets of the castle rewarded by *Eochu's* descendant, who never shrank from combat ; small harm was the dearness of their poesy, riches had been got beyond what he allowed them.

(35) I went amongst the school to take leave of Maguire ; away from the lofty, brightly-appointed court, alas, that he suffered me to go !

(36) When parting from me he said, shedding tears down his brown cheek, even though I might not be near to the warrior, that he was not parting from me for good.

(37) I remember that the day I turned my back upon the household of the king's dwelling, such sorrow lay upon them all that the grief of any one of them was not distinct.

(c) Household of Hugh O'Neill. [Sir John Harington,[1] "Report of a Journey into the north of Ireland written to Justice Carey" (1599). Pr. in *Nugæ Antiquæ*, I. 247–51.]

Having expected shipping till the 8th of this month (April) and meeting with none convenient, in respect that all were taken up with sick soldiers or with my Lord Lieutenant's horses, I was desirous to make some use of the time that I should stay here, and therefore was easily persuaded to go with Sir William Warren, . . . to see some part of the Realm northward, and the arch-rebel himself, with whom Sir William was to treat.

But staying at Dundalk till the 15th of this month, and no news certain of the Earl's coming, I went to see the Newry, and from thence to Carlingford by the narrow water, and was hindered by waters that I could not come back to Sir William Warren before his first meeting with the Earl of Tyrone, which was on the 17th day; . . . When I came, the Earl used far greater respect to me than I expected, and began debasing his own manner of hard life, comparing himself to wolves, that fill their bellies sometime, and fast as long for it. . . . After this he fell to private communication with Sir William . . . to which I thought it not fit to intrude myself, but took occasion the while to entertain his two sons, by posing them in their learning, and their tutors, which were one Friar Nangle a Franciscan, and a younger scholar whose name I know not; and finding the two children of good towardly spirit, their age between 13 and 15, in English clothes like a nobleman's sons;[2] with velvet jerkins and gold lace; of a good cheerful aspect, freckled-face, not tall of stature, but strong and well-set; both of them learning the English tongue; I gave them, not without the advice of Sir William Warren, my English translation of Ariosto, which I got at Dublin; which their teachers took very thankfully, and soon after shewed it to the Earl, who called to see it openly, and would needs hear some part of it read. I turned . . . to the beginning of the 45th canto, and some other passages of the book, which he seemed to like so well that he solemnly swore his boys should read all the book over to him. . . .

Then we broke our fasts with him, and at his meat he was very merry, and it was my hap to thwart one of his priests in an argument, to which he gave reasonable good ear, and some approbation. . . . Other pleasant and idle tales were needless and impertinent, or to describe his fern table and fern forms spread under the stately canopy of heaven. His guard, for the most part, were beardless boys without shirts; who in the frost, wade as

[1] Sir John Harington is best known as the translator of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1591). He accompanied Essex to Ireland in 1599, and was given command of a troop of horse.

[2] Hugh O'Neill was brought up at the English Court.

familiarly through rivers as water spaniels. With what charm such a master makes them love him I know not, but if he bid come, they come ; if go, they do go ; if he say do this, they do it. . . .

This is all I remember any way worthy the writing to you, not doubting but Sir William Warren, that had the sole charge of this business, will give you much better account of the weightier affairs than I, that only went to see their manner of parting.[1]

(5) The Bards

(*a*) English View of the Bards. [Edmund Spenser,[2] *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, Spenser's *Works* (Globe ed.), pp. 640–1.]

IRENÆUS : There is amongst the Irish a certain kind of people called bards, which are to them instead of poets, whose profession is to set forth the praises and dispraises of men in their poems and rhymes ; the which are had in so high request and estimation amongst them, that none dare to displease them for fear of running into reproach through their offence, and to be made infamous in the mouths of all men.[3] For their verses are taken up with a general applause, and usually sung at all feasts and meetings, by certain other persons, whose proper function that is, which also receive for the same great rewards and reputation besides. . . .

These Irish bards . . . far from instructing young men in moral discipline . . . seldom use to choose unto themselves the doings of good men for the ornaments of their poems, but whomsoever they find to be most licentious of life, most bold and lawless in his doings, most dangerous and desperate in all parts of disobedience and rebellious disposition, him they set up and glorify in their rhymes, him they praise to the people, and to young men make an example to follow. . . .

EUDOXUS : I marvel what kind of speeches they can find . . . to praise such lewd persons as live so lawlessly and licentiously upon stealths and spoils ? . . .

IRENÆUS : . . . As for words to set forth such lewdness, it is not hard for them to give a goodly gloss and painted show thereunto, borrowed even from the praises which are proper to virtue itself. As of a most notorious thief and wicked outlaw, which had lived all his life-time of spoils and robberies, one of these bards in his praise said, that he was none of those idle milk sops that was brought up by the fireside, but that most of his days he spent in arms and valiant enterprises ; that he did never eat his meat before he had

[1] For Sir William Warren's account of this meeting, see *Cal. Carew MSS.*, III. 348–9.

[2] See p. 171 *n.* 1.

[3] The satire of the bards was much dreaded owing to the fact that they were credited with supernatural powers. If not suitably rewarded it was thought that they could blight crops or work other mischiefs.—Joyce, *Social History*, I. 452–4.

won it with his sword ; that he was not slugging all night in a cabin under his mantle, but used commonly to keep others waking to defend their lives, and did light his candle at the flames of their houses to lead him in the darkness ; that the day was his night, and the night his day ; . . . that his music was not the harp, nor lays of love, but the cries of people, and clashing of armour ; and that finally, he died not bewailed of many, but made many wail when he died that dearly bought his death. Do not you think (Eudoxus) that many of these praises might be applied to men of best desert ? yet are they all yielded to a most notable traitor. . . . For the song, when it was first made and sung unto a person of high degree, they were bought, as their manner is, for 40 crowns (cows ?).

EUDOXUS : And well worthy sure ! But tell me, I pray you, have they any art in their compositions, or be they anything witty and well savoured, as poems should be ?

IRENÆUS : Yea, truly ; I have caused divers of them to be translated unto me that I might understand them ; and surely they savoured of sweet wit and good invention, but skilled not of the goodly ornaments of poetry ; yet were they sprinkled with some pretty flowers of their own natural device, which gave good grace and comeliness unto them, the which it is great pity to see so abused, to the gracing of wickedness and vice, which would with good usage serve to beautify and adorn virtue.

[Barnaby Rich, *A New Description of Ireland* (1610), chs. i, xi.]

There is nothing that hath more led the Irish into error, than lying historiographers, their chroniclers, their bards, their rhymers, and such other their lying poets ; in whose writings they do more rely, than they do in the Holy Scriptures, and this rabblement do at this day endeavour themselves to nothing else, but to feed and delight them with matter most dishonest and shameful : for in their speaking and writing they do nothing but flatter them in their ungracious humours, still opening the way with lying praises of their progenitors, what rebellions they have stirred up, and how many mischiefs they have performed ; this is such a whet-stone to their ambitious desires, and being thus made drunk with these lying reports of their ancestors' worthiness, that they think themselves to be reproached for ever, if they should not be as apt and ready to run into all manner of mischief, as their fathers were afore them. . . .

There is amongst the Irish a kind of feasting or banqueting . . . and this is the manner of it ; good company both of men and women being drawn together a feasting, to entertain the time between meals, they have their rhymers and their harpers ; the one

to sing and the other to play : the songs that they use to sing are usually in the commendation of theft, of murder, of rebellion, of treason, and the most of them lying fictions of their own collections, invented but of purpose to stir up their hearts to imitation of their ancestors, making repetition how many cows they had stolen, how many murders they had committed, how many times they had rebelled against their Prince, and what spoils and outrages they had done against the English.[1]

[Thomas Smith,[2] "Information for Ireland" (1561). Pr. in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology* (1858), VI. 166–7.]

There is in Ireland four septs in manner all rhymers. The first of them is called the "Brehon," which in English is called the Judge. . . . These men be neuters, and the Irishmen will not prey them. They have great plenty of cattle, and they harbour many vagabonds and idle persons.[3] . . .

The second sort is the "Shankee" (Senachie)[4] which is to say in English, the "petigrer" (genealogist). They have also great plenty of cattle, wherewithal they do succour the rebels. They make the ignorant men of the country to believe they be descended of Alexander the Great, or of Darius, or of Cæsar, or of some other notable prince ; which makes the ignorant people to run mad, and caring not what they do ; the which is very hurtful to the Realm.

The third sort is called the "Aeosdan" (*Aosdána*, i.e. poets) which is to say in English, the bards, or the rhyming septs ; and these people be very hurtful to the commonweal . . . [for] they do cause them that would be true, to be rebellious thieves, extortioners (etc.). Their first practice is, if they see any young man descended of the septs of O or Mac,[5] and have half a dozen about him, then will they make him a rhyme, wherein they will commend his father and his ancestors, numbering how many heads they have cut off, how many towns they have burned . . . and in the end they will compare them to Hannibal or Scipio or Hercules, or some other famous person ; wherewithal the poor fool runs mad, and thinks indeed it is so. Then will he gather a sort of "rackells" (rake-hells) to him, and other he must get him

[1] Rich has a further note upon the bards. "They have harpers," he says, "and these are so reverenced among the Irish, that in time of rebellion they will forbear to hurt either their persons or their goods, but are rather inclined to give them, and are very bountiful either to rhymers or fools. Every great man in the country hath his rhymer, his harper and his known messenger to run about the country with letters."—*New Descr. of Ireland*, ch. x.

[2] Smith may possibly be identified with an English apothecary who became Mayor of Dublin in 1591. See a commentary upon this tract, which was probably drawn up for the information of the Privy Council by Hore, *Ulst. Journ. Arch.* (1858), VI. 202–12.

[3] The families holding the hereditary office of bards were free from rent and taxes, received many fees and were immune from plunder.

[4] Ir., *seanchuidhe*, an historian, genealogist, storyteller.

[5] See p. 163 *n.* 3.

a "Proficer" (prophet) who shall tell him how he shall speed, as he thinks. Then will he get him lurking to the side of a wood, and there keepeth him close till morning; and when it is daylight, then will they go to the poor villages, not sparing to destroy young infants, aged people . . . burning the houses and corn, and ransacking of the poor "cottes" (cottages). They will then drive all the kine and plough horses, with all other cattle, and drive them away. Then must they have a bagpipe blowing afore them; and if any of these cattle fortune to wax weary or faint, they will kill them, rather than it should do the owners good. If they go by any house of friars or religious house, they will give them 2 or 3 beeves, and they will take them and pray for them and praise their doings, and say his father was accustomed so to do; wherein he will rejoice; and when he is in a safe place, they will fall to the division of the spoil, according to the discretion of the captain. . . . Now comes the "Rhymer" that made the rhyme, with his "Rakry."[1] The "Rakry" is he that shall utter the rhyme; and the "Rhymer" himself sits by with the captain very proudly. He brings with him also his harper who plays all the while that the "Rakry" sings the rhyme. Also he hath his "Bard" which is a kind of foolish fellow; who must also have a horse given him; the Harper must have a new saffron [coloured] shirt, and a mantle, and an hackney; and the "Rakry" must have 20 or 30 kine, and the "Rhymer" himself horse and harness (armour) with a nag to ride on, a silver goblet, a pair of beads (rosary) of coral, with buttons of silver. And this, with more, they look to have, for reducing destruction of the Common- wealth.[2] . . .

The fourth sort of "Rhymers" is called "Fillis" which is to say in English, a poet.[3] These men have great store of cattle, and use all the trades of the others, with an addition of prophecies. . . .

(*b*) Irish Poems. [(i) "On the Flight of the Earls" (1607,) by Miss Eleanor Knott in *Eriú* (1916), VIII 193–4.]

1. To-night Ireland is desolate, the banishment of her true race hath left wet-cheeked her men and her fair women; strange that such a dwelling place should be desolate.

[1] Ir., *reacaire*, a repetitor or reciter of poems attendant on the bard.—*Ossianic Society Transactions* (1857), V. 113.

[2] Derricke in his *Image of Ireland* (1581) gives a vivid sketch of one of these Irish raids. Compare the account of a foray by the Stewarts of Lochearnside (1592), quoted by E. C. Quiggin in *Procs. Brit. Acad.*, V. 27. Plunder in the ordinary sense was not always the object of these military operations. Sometimes a raid was organised to exact a lawful tribute, or an eligible noble wishing to become king desired to display his prowess before potential vassals.—J. MacNeill, *Studies* (Sept., 1919), VIII. 377.

[3] Ir., *file*, pl. *fileadha*, a higher order of poet than the bard. The *Ollamhain re dán* (ollaves or doctors of poetic art) were at the head of the profession.

2. Desolate to-night is the plain of *Connla*, though swarming with a foreign host; those who sufficed the generous, bright-acred land—they have been banished to Spain.
3. As the choicest of the sons of *Mil* are passing without stay across the ocean, populous as the bright, fertile land may be, they are leaving Ireland without one.
4. Great is the sorrow of the Ulsterman in distress after the banishment of O'Donnell, and no less is the grief in the North for Hugh of Annagh.
5. There is no laughter at the children's play, music is checked, speech is fettered; the sons of kings, such was not their nature, care neither for feasting nor Mass.
6. No gaming, no banqueting, no pastime; no commerce or horse-racing or deeds of daring.
7. No reciting of poems of praise, no relating of stories at sleeping time, no interest in consulting books, no harkening to genealogies.
8. In this land of *Brega* there are heard not even the deeds of a hound belonging to the race of *Mil* . . . or so much as the barking of an Irish dog.
9. From this state into which the Gaels have been cast henceforth they will have no joy at any tidings, be they ever so excellent; long does sorrow persist with them.
10. They have been overtaken, it is not just to suppress it, by the captivity that was in Egypt, or the army which gathered about Troy, or the sorrow that was in Babylon.
11. Since the sea surrounds the land of *Feimhen*, how shall the bright fair-haired race of Conn be succoured from captivity, whilst we have no Moses in Ireland?
12. Since these Irishmen have departed there is not one to support her (?), that the lords of *Banbha* lie beneath heavy bondage is stealing away my soul.[1]

[(ii) "Lament of the Early Seventeenth Century," Standish O'Grady, *Cat. Irish MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 473.]

Pride they (the Irish gentry) have bartered for a lowly mind, and bright perceptions for gloominess (a sinister exchange); this flaccid disposition of the erstwhile gallant host may in all earnest stand us in lieu of a sermon. They, flowers of the freeborn clans of Tara's armies, have run out the term of their prosperity; envy [of Fortune] has brought down her elbow on them, so that an eclipsing deluge has overwhelmed them. Their wonted good luck they have all forgotten, their battle ground and their athletic feats; their ire, their turbulence, their aggressiveness; prowess of clean-handed loyal warriors. No stripling now is seen to challenge

[1] For a specimen of the more warlike of the bardic poems, see the vigorous incitement to a chief to ravage the Pale, quoted in O'Grady's *Catalogue of Irish MSS.*, pp. 416–20.

combat, nor soldier's gear to hang by his pallet, nor sword to suck [i.e. to draw as a blister] the hand's palm, while frost no more congeals the ringlet of the hair. No more the target is seen slung on the broad back, nor hilt girt to the side at coming of the moon, nor smooth soft skin coming into contact with [the harsher] mail : all this must once upon a time have been a dream. Their cheerfulness of spirit, their appetite for diversion and their propensity to give away, they have relinquished ; likewise their charge in the fight, their industry in depredations—so that they being thus are not living men at all.

(6) Learning and Education

(*a*) Manus O'Donnell's Life of St. Columba [1] **(1532).** [Extract from Preface pr. in Sir J. Gilbert's *Account of Facsimiles of National MSS. of Ireland*, p. 128.]

Be it known to the readers of this biography, that it was lost for a long while and that there was not to be found but a fragment of the book which Holy Adamnan compiled of it in Latin, and another small portion of it in Gaelic, compiled by the Gaelic poets in a very difficult dialect ; and the remainder in legends, scattered throughout the old books of Erin. And it is my opinion that the following was the cause of this : When foreign Danes came at first to make a conquest in Erin, they destroyed and burned all the chief churches of Erin, and they destroyed her shrines and writings, and they carried off quantities of the relics of her saints to their own country, as it is recorded in the old historical books of Erin. . . . And they burned and destroyed the chief churches of Colum Cille in particular. And I am certain that it was at that time they destroyed and burned his books, and that his biography was lost, excepting the little of it that has been collected to be written here.

Be it known to the readers of this Life, that it was Manus the son of Hugh, son of Hugh Roe, son of Nial Garbh, son of Tirlough O'Donnell of the wine, that ordered the part of this Life which was in Latin to be put into Gaelic ; and who ordered the part that was in difficult Gaelic to be modified, so that it might be clear and comprehensible to everyone. And he gathered and collected

[1] Ed. and tr. by A. O'Kelleher and G. Schoepperle : *Betha Colaim chille* (Illinois, 1918). Manus O'Donnell entered, in 1541, into an agreement with Henry VIII through the Deputy St. Leger (see p. 110). His death in 1564 is recorded by the *Four Masters* (V. 1595–7) as follows :—(O'Donnell) "a fierce, obdurate, wrathful and combative man towards his enemies . . . a mild, friendly, benign, amicable, bountiful and hospitable man towards the learned, the destitute, the poets and the ollaves, towards the [religious] orders and the Church . . . a learned man, skilled in many arts, gifted with a profound intellect and the knowledge of every science, died on the 9th of February, at his own mansion-seat of Lifford . . . and was interred in the burial place of his predecessors . . . in the monastery at St. Francis, with great honour and veneration, after having vanquished the Devil and the World."

the parts of it that were scattered through the old books of Erin, and he dictated it out of his own mouth with great labour, and at great expenditure of time in studying how he should arrange all the parts of it in their places, as they are written here. And [this was done by him] in love and friendship for his illustrious saint, relative and patron, to whom he was devotedly attached. It was in the Castle of Port-na-trí-námhad (Lifford, Co. Donegal) this Life was indited, when had been fulfilled twelve years and twenty and five hundred and a thousand of the age of the Lord.

(*b*) Irish Grammar Schools. [Richard Stanihurst, "A Plain and Perfect Description of Ireland" (1577). Pr. in Holinshed's *Chronicles* (ed. 1808), VI. 34.]

In the west end of the churchyard (i.e. of Saint Canice the cathedral church of Kilkenny) of late hath been founded a grammar school by the Right Honourable Pierce or Peter Butler, Earl of Ormonde and Ossory, and by his wife the Countess of Ormonde, . . . out of which school have sprouted such proper imps, through the painful diligence, and the laboursome industry of a famous lettered man Mr. Peter White,[1] (sometime fellow of Oriel College in Oxford, and schoolmaster in Kilkenny), as generally the whole weal public of Ireland, and especially the southern parts of that island are greatly thereby furthered. This gentleman's method, in training up youth was rare and singular, framing the education according to the scholar's vein. If he found him free, he would bridle him like a wise Isocrates from his book; if he perceived him to be dull, he would spur him forward; if he understood that he were the worse for beating, he would win him with rewards: finally, by interlacing study with recreation, sorrow with mirth, pain with pleasure, sourness with sweetness, roughness with mildness, he had so good success in schooling his pupils, as in good sooth I may boldly bide by it, that in the Realm of Ireland was no grammar school so good, in England I am well assured none better. And because it was my happy hap (God and my parents be thanked), to have been one of his crew, I take it to stand with my duty, sith I may not stretch my ability in requiting his good turns, yet to manifest my good will in remembering his pains. And certes, I acknowledge myself so much bound and beholding to him and his, as for his sake, I reverence the meanest stone cemented in the walls of that famous school.[2]

[1] See Ware's *Writers of Ireland* (ed. Harris), I. 95. Peter White was a native of Waterford. He is described in a letter from the Bishop of Waterford to Sir Henry Sidney, 15 June, 1566, as follows:—"A man very well learned, passed degrees in schools, and of virtuous, sober conversation, by whose industry and travail a great part of the youth of this country and of Dublin have greatly profited in learning and virtuous education."—*Cal. Pat. Rolls* (ed. Morrin), I. 494.

[2] Peter Lombard, Papal Archbishop of Armagh, and author of *De Regno Hiberniæ Sanctorum Insulâ Commentarius* (1632), was also at this school.

[Report of the Commissioners, Royal Visitation of 1615. Pr. in R. O'Flaherty's Chorographical Description of West or H-Iar Connaught (1684), (ed. J. Hardiman). *Irish Archæological Society* (1846), p. 215.]

We found in Galway a public schoolmaster named Lynch, placed there by the citizens, who had great numbers of scholars, not only out of that province, but also out of the Pale, and other parts resorting to him. We had daily proof, during our continuance in that city, how well his scholars profited under him, by verses and orations which they presented us. We sent for that schoolmaster before us, and seriously advised him to conform to the religion established, and not prevailing with our advices, we enjoined him to forbear teaching : and I the Chancellor [1] did take a recognisance of him and some others of his kinsmen in that city, in the sum of £400 sterling, to his Majesty's use, that from henceforth he should forbear to teach any more without the special licence of the Lord Deputy. And in regard Galway is a far more public and convenient place for the keeping of a school than Tuam is, we have ordered that Mr. Lally shall, at Michaelmas next, begin to teach publicly in that city.[2]

(c) Irish Colleges abroad. [Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to Philip III of Spain, asking for an allowance for the Irish College at Douai [3] (31 Dec., 1599). *Cal. S.P. Ireland,* pp. 337–8.]

Since nothing can be more beneficial to a Christian commonwealth than to have men, eminent in learning and virtue, to sow the Word of God, instruct the people and eradicate vice from the minds of men ; of which men, alas, this Realm is destitute, owing to a lengthened war and the activity of heresy : wherefore, most powerful King, nothing could be more desirable for our commonwealth than to have such men, whom we cannot possess, unless your Majesty, in your wonted kindness for the welfare of the whole commonwealth, the exaltation of the Catholic faith and the extirpation of heresy, assign some allowance to our college at Douai, containing nearly 100 students, living solely on the liberality and alms of others. Almighty God long preserve your Majesty to the universal Christian commonwealth and to us Irishmen. Given at Dungannon on the last day of Dec., 1599.

Your Majesty's most faithful subject, O'Neill.

[Original in *Latin.*]

[1] Thomas (Jones) Archbishop of Dublin and Chancellor of Ireland (1605–19). See *Archivium Hiberncium* (1912), I., 277–81.

[2] For an account of schools in Limerick and Waterford and Cork, see Mrs. Green, *Making of Ireland,* pp. 367–70.

[3] The Irish College of Douai was founded about 1577. Douai was then included in the Flemish territory subject to Spain, and in 1604 Phillip III conferred upon the college an endowment of 5,000 florins.

[MSS. Irish College, Salamanca (1611–20). Pr. in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (1874), X. 206–7.]

The greatest injury they have done, and one of most serious consequences, was the prohibition of all Catholic schools in our nation, naturally so inclined to learning, except an odd infant school in the principal cities and towns, where only reading, writing, and a little grammar are taught, with the object of sinking our people to degradation, or filling the universities of England with the children of those who had any means to educate them, where they might become more dependent on the heretics and contaminated with their errors. They have also taken singular care that all children be taught English, and chastise them if they hear them speak their own native tongue. But as these crafty heretics saw that all their efforts did not produce the desired effect, and that the natives not only did not go to England, but rather preferred to remain in ignorance than run the risk of their faith and religion by doing so, or went secretly and quietly to many foreign parts, but particularly to Spain, where his Catholic Majesty protected them, and gave them some colleges . . . and placed them under the direction of the fathers of the Society of Jesus; and as they also found that from these colleges came a crowd of priests in a very short time, full of virtue and learning, who boldly opposed them . . . they determined, in order to stop the ravages these colleges were committing, to found a University in the capital of the Kingdom, in which they put heretical masters to teach their pestiferous doctrines, and uproot the desire of the Catholics to cross the sea.[1] But the active diligence of our evangelical labourers frustrated their intent, and induced many more to come to Spain than formerly, so that the heretics were left without more hearers than their own children and relatives. Convinced in the end that none of their plans produced the desired effect, they commenced to publish the fierce edicts issued against the Catholics, in which . . . it is commanded that no one send his son to these colleges under penalty of incurring the serious indignation of the King, confiscation of property and imprisonment.[2] . . .

[Original in *Spanish.*]

(7) Dress

(*a*) General Descriptions. [William Camden, *Britannia*[3] (ed. R. Gough, 1789), III. 668–9.]

Most of them (the Irish) go bare-headed, except when they wear helmets; their hair flowing in long curled locks, which they

[1] Trinity College, Dublin, founded in 1591. See pp. 137–40.

[2] Some interesting Regulations of the College of Irish Jesuits at Salamanca (1604) are printed in "Archives of the Jesuits in Ireland," *Rept. Hist. MSS. Comm.*, X. Append. v.

[3] Camden's account is taken, as he explains, from that given by J. Good, an English priest, who was educated at Oxford and was a schoolmaster at Limerick about the year 1566.

highly delight in, and are affronted at having pulled.[1] They wear very wide linen skirts with wider sleeves and reaching down to their knees, and dyed saffron colour. They have very short woollen jackets, plain and very close breeches, and over all mantles or shaggy rugs . . . with fringes prettily variegated, in which they wrap themselves at night and sleep comfortably.[2] The women throw such over their long garments, wrap many yards of linen round their heads . . . and rather load than adorn their necks with collars and their arms with bracelets.

[Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary* (1617), III. iv. 180.]

In Ireland the English and the English-Irish are attired after the English manner, for the most part, yet not with such pride and inconstancy, perhaps for want of means: yet the English-Irish, forgetting their own country, are somewhat infected with the Irish rudeness, and with them are delighted in simple light colours, as red and yellow. . . . Touching the "mere" (pure) or wild Irish . . . among them the gentlemen or lords of countries, wear close breeches or stockings of the same piece of cloth, of red or such like colour and a loose coat, and a cloak or three-cornered mantle, commonly of coarse light stuff, made at home.[3] . . . Their wives, living among the English, are attired in a sluttish gown . . . and their heads be covered after the Turkish manner, with many ells of linen, only the Turkish heads or "tulbents"[4] are round in the top; but the attire of the Irish women's heads, is more flat in the top and broader on the sides, not much unlike a cheese mot,[5] if it had a hole to put in the head. For the rest, in the remote parts where the English laws and manners are unknown, the very chief of the Irish, as well men as women, go naked in very winter time, only having their privy parts covered with a rag of linen and their bodies with a loose mantle.[6]

[1] "Both men and women set a high value on their hair, especially if gold coloured and long: they plait it at full length, and let it hang down handsomely braided, wrapping many folds of fine linen round the head."—*Britannia*, III. 659.

[2] "The mantle serving unto the Irish as to a hedgehog his skin, or to a snail her shell, for a garment by day and a house by night: it maketh them with the continual use of it, more apt and able to live and lie out in bogs and woods, where their mantle serveth them for a mattress and a bush for a bedstead,and thereby they are less addicted to a loyal, dutiful and civil life."—*Cal. S.P.I.* (1588–92), pp. 192–3. Spenser also gives a disparaging account of the mantle which he calls "a fit house for an outlaw, a meet bed for a rebel, and an apt cloak for a thief."—*View*, p. 631.

[3] The clothes of two Irish nobles who came to present themselves to the Lord Deputy at Dublin are thus described in a letter to Walsingham, 12 Sept., 1581. "A russet Irish mantle (rugg), a hat, a leather jerkin, a pair of hose, which they call 'trowes' and a pair of brogues, but not all worth a noble that either of them had."—*Cal. S.P.I.*, p. 318.

[4] Turbans.

[5] Mould.

[6] "The Northern Irish have for their only dress a breeches, and a covering for the back, without bonnet, shoes or stockings. The women of the North have a double rug, girded round their middle and fastened to the throat. Those bordering on Scotland have not more clothing."—M. De La Boullaye la Gouz, *Tour in Ireland* (1644), ed. Croker, p. 45.

[Luke Gernons, *A Discourse of Ireland* [1] (1620), Stowe MSS., 180. f. 37.]

The better sort are apparelled at all points like the English only they retain their mantle which is a garment not indecent. It differs nothing from a long cloak, but in the fringe at the upper end, which in cold weather they wear over their heads for warmth . . . the churl is apparelled in this manner. His doublet is a pack saddle of canvas, or coarse cloth without skirts, but in winter he wears a frieze coat. The "trouse" is a long stock of frieze, close to his thighs, and drawn on almost to his waist. . . . His brogues are single soled, more rudely sewed than a shoe but more strong, sharp at the toe, and a flap of leather left at the heel to pull them on. His hat is a frieze cap close to his head with two lappets, to button under his chin. . . . They are wedded to their mantle, they plough, they ditch, they thresh with their mantles on. But you look after the wenches.

The women of Ireland are very comely creatures, tall, slender and upright. Of complexion very fair and clear-skinned (but freckled) with tresses of bright yellow hair, which they chain up in curious knots and devices. . . . I come to their apparel. About Dublin they wear the English habit, mantles only added thereunto, and they that go in silks will wear a mantle of country making. In the country even among their Irish habits they have sundry fashions. I will begin with the ornaments of their heads. At Kilkenny they wear broad beaver hats coloured, edged with a gold lace and faced with velvet, with a broad gold hat-band. At Waterford they wear caps, turned up with fur and laced with gold lace. At Limerick they wear rolls of linen . . . made up in form of a mitre. . . . In Connacht they wear rolls in form of a cheese. In Thomond they wear kerchiefs hanging down to the middle of their back. . . . They wear no bands but the ornament of their necks is a "carkanett" [2] of goldsmiths' work beset with precious stones, some of them very rich; but most of them gaudy and made of painted glass and at the end of them a crucifix. They wear also bracelets and many rings. I proceed to their gowns. Lend me your imagination and I will cut it out as well as the tailor. They have straight bodies and long waists . . . on the forefront of these bodies they have a set of broad silver buttons of goldsmiths' work set round about. . . . They have hanging sleeves, very narrow, but no arming sleeves, other than their smock sleeves, or a waistcoat of striped stuff. . . . The better sort have sleeves of satin. . . . They wear their mantles also as well within doors as without. Their mantles are commonly

[1] For a biographical notice of the author of this tract, see C. L. Falkiner, *Illustrns. Irish History*, pp. 345–7.

[2] A collar of jewels.

of a brown blue colour with fringe alike, but those that love to be gallant wear them of green, red, yellow, and other light colours, with fringes diversified. . . .

I would not have you suppose that all the Irish are thus strangely attired as I have described. The old women are loth to be shifted out of their ancient habits, but the younger sort, especially in gentlemen's houses, are brought up to resemble the English.

(b) Irish National Feeling. [E. C. S., *The Government of Ireland under Sir John Perrot* (1626), pp. 58–60.]

A Parliament is now summoned to be held at Dublin (1585) [1] where the nobility, clergy and commons being assembled, order was taken, that none were permitted to go in Irish attire (as in former times they used), but to sort themselves in such habit after the English manner, as was answerable to their several ranks and qualities. . . . He (Sir John Perrot) bestowed upon Tirlough Luineach (O'Neill), the principal lord of Ulster, and on some others, chief of the Irish, gowns and other robes fit for that place, and their degrees; which they embraced like fetters: of which being weary, one of them came to the Deputy and besought him, that one of his chaplains, which he called priests, might go with him along through the streets, clad in his Irish "trouses": for then, quoth he, the boys will laugh as fast at him, as they now do at me, whereat though the Deputy could have smiled, yet casting a frown upon his countenance, told him, there was no cause he should think any laughed at him, for wearing those which were fit ornaments for the place he now held, and did present in Parliament; but if any did so, it was at his ill wearing of the same, which want of civil custom caused. Therefore since use would make that seemly, which was now ridiculous, he advised him to view the difference of being fit for all assemblies, and only fit for the woods and barbarous places; but, quoth the Deputy, if any idle or ill-affected person shall put the contrary into your head, believe it to be done out of an ill-meaning to the State, and worse unto your person, for contempt of order and decency will in the end be your downfall. . . .

It is to be observed in the proud condition of the Irish, that they disdain to sort themselves in fashion unto us, which in their opinion would more plainly manifest our conquest over them; and this I take to be the cause of their untowardness in this particular, which made the Deputy to set the reformation more to heart, well knowing that the lords and chief of the Irish, framing themselves in habit and plainness to their underlings, made themselves the more popular. Willing or unwilling, they were con-

[1] See p. 72. A list of persons who attended this Parliament is printed as an appendix to the Statute of Kilkenny (ed. Hardiman). *Irish Arch. Soc.* (1843).

strained to come to the Parliament in that civil habit, which did best fit the place and present service.

[A poem by Laoiseach Mac an Bhaird,[1] dating probably from the sixteenth century. Tr. by Osborn Bergin, *Journal of the Ivernian Society* (1913), V. 212–13.]

O man who follow English ways, who cut your thick-clustering hair, graceful hand of my choice, you are not Donnchadh's good son !

If you were, you would not give up your hair for an artificial English mode—the fairest ornament of the land of *Fódla !*– and your head would not be tonsured.

You think the yellow head of hair unfashionable, *he* detests both locks and going bald after the English style ; your characters are different indeed.

A man who never loved English ways is Eóghan Bán, beloved of noble ladies. To English ways he never gave his heart : a savage life he chose.

Your mind is nothing to Eóghan Bán, a man who would give breeches for a trifle, who asked no cloak but a rag, who had no wish for coat and legging.

He would hate to carry at his ankle a jewelled spur on a boot, or stockings in the English style ; he will have no locks upon him.

A blunt rapier that would not kill a fly, the weight of an awl sticking out behind as one goes to a hill of assembly—the son of Donnchadh sees no beauty in that !

Little he cares for a mantle gold-embroidered, or a high ornamental collar, or a gold ring that would only be irksome, or a satin scarf down to the heels.

He has no longing for a feather bed, he had rather lie upon rushes. Pleasanter to Donnchadh's good son is a hut of rough poles than the *táille* of a tower.

A troop of horse at the brink of a gap, a fierce fight, a struggle with foot soldiers, these are some of the desires of Donnchadh's son—and seeking battle aginst the foreigners !

How unlike are you to Eóghan Bán—they laugh at your foot on the stepping-stone. Pity that you have not seen your fault, O man who follow English ways.

(8) English View of the Brehon Law

[Sir John Davies, *A Discovery of the True Causes why Ireland was never entirely Subdued* (1612), pp. 165–81.]

If we consider the nature of the Irish customs, we shall find that the people which doth use them, must of necessity be enemies

[1] This poem is apparently meant as a reproach to someone who has adopted the dress and manners of a Tudor courtier. He is contrasted with another, perhaps his brother, who has chosen the harder, but more adventurous, life of a rebel. Bergin, *loc. cit. note.*

to all good government . . . and bring barbarism and desolation upon the richest and most fruitful land of the world. For, whereas by the just and honourable law of England . . . murder, manslaughter, rape, robbery and theft, are punished with death; by the Irish custom, or Brehon law, the highest of these offences was punished only by fine, which they called an eric. Therefore, when Sir William Fitzwilliam (being Lord Deputy) told Maguire that he was to send a sheriff into Fermanagh, being lately before made a county; "your sheriff," said Maguire, "shall be welcome to me, but let me know his eric, or the price of his head aforehand; that if my people cut it off, I may "cut" (i.e. levy) the eric upon the country." [1] . . .

Again, in England, and all well-ordered commonweals, men have certain estates in their lands and possessions, and their inheritances descend from father to son, which doth give them encouragement to build, and to plant, and to improve their lands, and to make them better for their posterities. But by the Irish custom of tanistry, the chieftains of every country, and the chief of every sept, had no longer estate than for life in their chiefries, the inheritance whereof did rest in no man. And these chiefries, though they had some portions of land allotted unto them, did consist chiefly in cuttings and cosheries, and other Irish exactions, whereby they did spoil and impoverish the people at their pleasure. And when their chieftains were dead, their sons or next heirs did not succeed them, but their tanists, who were elective, and purchased their elections by strong hand.[2]

And by the Irish custom of gavelkind, the inferior tenancies were partible (i.e. divisible) amongst all the males of the sept . . . and after partition made, if anyone of the sept had died, his portion was not divided among his sons, but the chief of the sept made a new partition of all the lands belonging to that sept, and gave everyone his part according to his antiquity.[3]

These two Irish customs [4] made all their possessions uncertain

[1] The Irish "eric" consisted of two parts: payment for the injury according to its nature, and an honour price which varied according to the rank of the parties concerned. The honour price of a tribesman, which was decided by the Brehons, ruled the value of his oath, pledges and evidence. It has been suggested that Maguire had the evil reputation of some of the King's officers in mind when he made the above enquiry. See Captain Thomas Lee's account (1594) of one Willis, a sheriff in Donegal, pr. in Lodge, *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, I. 106. See also p. 316 *n.* 2.

[2] See p. 59 *n.* 2.

[3] See p. 59 *n.* 4.

[4] "The customs of tanistry and gavelkind," wrote Davies to Salisbury in 1607, . . . "shall be clearly extinguished . . . every man shall have a certain home, and know the extent of his estate, whereby the people will be encouraged to manure their land with better industry. . . . These will cause them to build better houses for their safety, and to love neighbourhood. Thence will arise villages and towns, which will draw tradesmen and artificers; so as we conceive a hope, that these countries in a short time will not only be quiet neighbours to the Pale, but be made as rich and as civil as the Pale itself."—*Historical Tracts* (1786), pp. 277–8.

being shuffled, and changed, and removed so often from one to another, by new elections and partitions; which uncertainty of estates, hath been the true cause of such desolation and barbarism in this land, as the like was never seen in any country that professed the name of Christ. For, though the Irishry be a nation of great antiquity, and wanted neither wit nor valour, and though they have received the Christian faith above 1,200 years since: and were lovers of music, poetry, and all kinds of learning . . . yet which is strange to be related, they did never build any houses of brick or stone . . . plant any gardens or orchards, enclose or improve their lands, live together in settled villages or towns, nor made any provision for posterity; which being against all common sense and reason, must needs be imputed to those unreasonable customs which made their estates so uncertain and transitory in their possessions. . . .

But the most wicked and most mischievous custom of all others, was that of "coyne and livery" [1] . . . which consisted in taking of man's-meat, horse-meat, and money of all the inhabitants of the country, at the will and pleasure of the soldier. . . . This extortion was originally Irish, for they used to lay "bonaght" [2] upon their people, and never gave their soldiers any other pay, but when the English had learnt it, they used it with more insolency, and made it the more intolerable; for this oppression was not temporary, or limited either to place or time, but because there was everywhere a continual war . . . it became universal and perpetual. . . . This extortion of "coyne and livery" did produce two notorious effects. First, it made the land waste, next, it made the people idle. For, when the husbandman had laboured all the year the soldier in one night, did consume the fruits of all his labour. . . .

This extortion of "coyne and livery" was taken for the maintenance of their men of war; but their Irish exactions extorted by the chieftains and tanists, by colour of their barbarous seigniory were almost as grievous a burden as the other; namely, cosherings, which were visitations and progresses made by the lord and his followers among his tenants: wherein he did eat them (as the English proverb is), out of house and home. Cessings of the kerne of his family called kernety, of his horses and horse-boys, of his dogs and dog-boys, and the like: and lastly, cuttings, tallages or spendings, high or low, at his pleasure, all which made the lord an absolute tyrant, and the tenant a very slave and villein. . . .

Lastly, there were two other customs proper and peculiar to the Irishry . . . the one was fostering, the other gossipred; both which have ever been of greater estimation among this people, than with any other nation in the Christian world. . . . They put away all their children to fosterers: the potent and rich men selling, the meaner sort buying the alterage [3] of their children; and

[1] See p. 61 *n.* 1. [2] See p. 326 *n.* 1. [3] Fostering or rearing.

the reason is, because in the opinion of this people, fostering hath always been a stronger alliance than blood, and the foster children do love and are beloved of their foster fathers and their sept, more than of their own natural parents and kindred. . . . Such a general custom in a Kingdom in giving, and taking children to foster, making such a firm alliance as it doth in Ireland, was never seen or heard of, in any other country of the world besides.[1]

The like may be said of gossipred, or compaternity.[2] . . . Now these two customs . . . made strong parties and factions, whereby the great men were enabled to oppress their inferiors and to oppose their equals, and their followers were borne out and countenanced in all their lewd and wicked actions: for fosterers and gossips . . . were to maintain one another in all causes . . . not one of the least causes of the common misery of this Kingdom.

LXXI. SOME IRISH TOWNS

(1) Description of Irish Buildings and Accommodation for Travellers. [Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary* (1617), III. ii. 74.]

The houses of the Irish cities, as Cork, Galway and Limerick (the fairest of them for building) are of unwrought free stone, or flint, or unpolished stones, built some two stories high, and covered with tile. The houses of Dublin and Waterford, are for the most part of timber, clay and plaster,[3] yet are the streets beautiful, and the houses commodious within, even among the Irish, if you pardon them a little slovenliness proper to the nation. In general, the houses very seldom keep out rain, the timber being not well seasoned, and the walls being generally combined with clay only, not with mortar of lime tempered. The Irish have some quarries of marble, but only some few lords and gentlemen bestow the cost to polish it. Many gentlemen have castles built of free stone unpolished, and of flints or little stones, and they are built strong for defence in times of rebellion, for which cause they have narrow stairs and little windows, and commonly they have a spacious hall joining to the castle and built of timber and clay, wherein they eat with their family.[4] . . . For other Irish dwellings, it may be said of them, as Cæsar said of the old Britons' houses; they call it a town when they have compassed a skirt of wood with trees cut down, whither they may retire themselves and their cattle.

[1] See p. 315 *n.* 4.

[2] When a man stood sponsor for a child at baptism, he became the child's godfather and "gossip" to the parents. Many of the Anglo-Irish sent their children to be fostered by the Irish. Both customs were denounced by the Government. See Joyce, *Social History*, II, 14–19.

[3] The cage-work houses of Elizabeth's time began to be replaced in James I's reign by houses built of lime, stone or brick.—Harris, *Hist. and Antiqs. of Dublin*, p. 81.

[4] See p. 63 *n.* 2.

For the mere (pure) barbarous Irish either sleep under the canopy of Heaven, or in cabins wattled and covered with turf. . . .

[*Itinerary*, III. ii. 62.]

In Ireland since the end of the civil war, some lords and knights have brought in coaches to Dublin, but they are not generally used, neither are there any to be hired, though the ways be most plain and generally good for coaches. They ride for the most part upon their own horses, but they are also to be hired. . . . In every city there be some known houses, where an ordinary is kept for diet, and beds may be had, and the ordinary is commonly 12*d.* each meal. By the way in poor hamlets, at this time of peace, there be English houses, where is good lodging and diet; and where no such are, passengers must go to the houses of noblemen, gentlemen and husbandmen, English and Irish-English, where they cannot want entertainment in some good measure, these inhabitants much loving hospitality, but all other houses are full of filth and barbarousness. But there are not any inns in the very cities,[1] which hang out bushes or any signs, only some citizens are known, who will give stable and meat for horses, and keep a table where passengers eat at an ordinary, and some citizens have cellars wherein they draw wine, if not all the year, yet as long as their wine lasts; but they have no taverns with ivy bushes or signs hung out, save only some few at Dublin.

(2) Dublin [2]

(*a*) Topography. [William Camden, *Britannia* (ed. R. Gough, 1789), III. 549.]

This is the royal city of Ireland, its most noble mart and chief seat of justice, defended with strong walls, adorned with beautiful buildings, and well peopled with inhabitants. . . . Its situation is particularly pleasant and healthy. For the mountains rise on the south. On the west are extensive plains; on the east the sea near at hand; and the river Liffey running near by on the north makes a safe station for ships. On the river are quays, as we call them, to break the force of the water . . . from hence run very strong walls of hewn stone, defended also on the south with ramparts, having six gates, which open into suburbs extending a great way beyond them. On the east is Dames Gate; [3] near which

[1] See p. 127.

[2] For the history of Dublin, see Sir J. Gilbert, *Hist. of the City of Dublin*, and *Cal. of the Ancient Records of Dublin*; J. Warburton, *Hist. of the City of Dublin*; W. Harris, *Hist. and Antiqs. of the City of Dublin*. A map of the walls of Dublin is reproduced in C. L. Falkiner's *Illustrns. of Irish History*.

[3] So called from the Church of Mary les Dames, near by. "This gate was built with towers castlewise, and was armed with a portcullis."—Harris, *Hist. and Antiqs. of Dublin*, p. 60.

stands on an eminence the royal castle fortified with ditches, towers and a magazine, built by Archbishop Henry Loundres about the year 1220.[1] . . . Opposite to this, one sees on the site of the Monastery of All Hallows, a handsome college, dedicated to the Holy and Undivided Trinity, for the promotion of learning, endowed with the privileges of an university by Queen Elizabeth of blessed memory, and lately furnished with an excellent library.[2] . . .

On the south is Paul's Gate, and another called Saint Nicholas's leading to Saint Patrick's suburb, in which stands the Archbishop of Dublin's palace called Saint Sepulchre, and a spacious church dedicated to Saint Patrick, distinguished by the workmanship of the inside, the mosaic pavements, vaulted stone roof and lofty tower.[3] . . . There is also in the heart of the city another cathedral church, dedicated to the Holy Trinity and commonly called Christ's Church.[4] . . . On the south side of the church rises the Town Hall . . . where the Mayor hears causes, and where the assemblies of the citizens are held. The city also enjoys many privileges.

(*b*) Gilds. [Regulations[5] for Pageants on the Festival of Corpus Christi (1498), Chain Book of the City of Dublin. Pr. in Sir John Gilbert's *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*, I. 239–40.]

The pageants of Corpus Christi Day (21 June) made by an old law and confirmed by an assembly before Thomas Collier, Mayor of the city of Dublin, and Jurats, Bailiffs and Commons, the fourth Friday next after Midsummer, the thirteenth year of the reign of King Henry VII :

Glovers : Adam and Eve with an angel following bearing a sword.

Corvisers (Shoemakers) : Cain and Abel with an altar and the offerings.

Mariners, Vintners, Ship Carpenters, Salmon-Takers : Noah with his ship apparelled according (appropriately).

Weavers : Abraham and Isaac with their altar, and a lamb, and their offerings.

Smiths, Shearmen (Cloth-Shearers), Bakers, Slaters, Cooks and Masons : Pharaoh with his host.

Skinners, House-Carpenters, Tanners and Embroiderers : For the body of the camel and Our Lady and her Child well apparelled,

[1] The building of Dublin Castle was begun somewhat earlier. See Harris, *op. cit.*, ch. 2.

[2] The Library of Trinity College is said to have been founded by subscriptions given by the officers of Queen Elizabeth's army to commemorate their victory over the Spaniards at Kinsale in 1601.

[3] Raised to the status of a Cathedral in 1219.

[4] Founded by Sitric, a Christianized King of the Danes, in 1038. It dates its elevation to a deanery and chapter from 1541.

[5] The penalty for a breach of the regulations was in each case 40*s*.

with Joseph to lead the camel, and Moses with the Children of Israel, and the porters to bear the camel. Stainers and Painters to paint the head of the camel.

Goldsmiths : The three Kings of Cologne, riding worshipfully with the offerings, with a star afore them.

Coopers : The Shepherds with an angel singing *Gloria in excelsis De*

Corpus Christi Gild : Christ in His passion, with three Marys and angels bearing "serges" (tapers) of wax in their hands.

Tailors : Pilate with his fellowship and his lady and his knights, "well-beseyne" (attired).

Barbers : Annas and Caiaphas well arrayed according. . . .

Fishers : The twelve Apostles.

Merchants : The Prophets.

Butchers : Tormentors (executioners) with their garments well and cleanly painted.

The Mayor of the Bull-Ring [1] and Bachelors of the same : The Nine Worthies [2] riding worshipfully with their followers according.

The Haggardmen and the Husbandmen to bear the Dragon, and to repair the Dragon on St. George's Day and Corpus Christi Day.[3]

(c) Trade. [Barnaby Rich,[4] *A New Description of Ireland* (1610), chs. XVI., XXVII.]

I might speak here of friars [and] Jesuits . . . well known to be his Majesty's vowed and protested enemies, that are yet entertained, upholden and maintained in Dublin, not without great contributions allowed unto them by the Papistical sort of the citizens, that will grudge and murmur to give a soldier a night's lodging . . . and they do not only show an unwillingness to his Majesty in these trifling matters, but they do likewise make manifest their ingratitude by many other means. And whereas their corporation hath been dignified by several kings and princes of England with many large privileges, and that they have the whole trade and traffic amongst themselves, no man to buy or sell within their liberties, unless he be a freeman, yet upon any imposition, though it doth properly belong unto the city, and not so much but for an annual rent, which they are to pay to his Majesty for those lands and liberties that they do hold from his Highness, yet

[1] An officer elected by the citizens to be, as it were, captain or guardian of the bachelors and unwedded youth of the city.—Gilbert, *Cal. Anc. Records of Dublin*, II. x.

[2] Joshua, David, Judas Maccabæus, Hector, Alexander, Julius Cæsar, King Arthur, Charlemagne, Godfrey of Bouillon.

[3] There is an account of a Christmas play performed in Dublin in 1528 by the different trades, and also of the Festival of St. George, in Warburton's *Hist. of Dublin*, I. 108–10.

[4] See p. 153 *n.* 1.

they would exact it from strangers, that are neither free, nor have any manner [of] dealing in the city, but to spend their money, which only the citizens doth gain by, and there is neither merchandise, nor any manner of commodity that is brought from Spain, from France, from Flanders . . . but they will have the whole bargain to themselves, not suffering any man that is not free, to buy for his own provision, no, not so much as a drinking glass, but it must be had from them, and by that means he shall be enforced to pay double the price.[1] . . .

The city of Dublin is principally upholden by the English, for the Lord Deputy holding there his Majesty's estate, and the whole body of the Council of that Realm, together with the captains, pensioners, all officers, as well appertaining to the army as to the Four Courts, all their servants, friends and followers, being there for the most part resident; this maketh the citizens to raise their prices in all things; their houses, chambers and lodgings are dearer rented in Dublin than they be in London.

It is the nicety of the English, that are every day innovating and devising of new fashions, that helpeth them away with their satins, their silks, their fine cloth, both woollen and linen, their new striped stuffs, their lace of gold, of silver, of silk, and a number of other gaudy devices, that the English do use to buy at unreasonable rates, that would never be vended among the Irish themselves. The trade that they commonly use is but to London,[2] from thence they do furnish themselves with all sorts of wares for their shops, for shipping they have none belonging to the town that is worth the speaking of, yet they will be called merchants, and he that hath but a barrel of salt, and a bar or two of iron in his shop is called a merchant. . . . But now to speak the truth, there are several citizens of Dublin, that are very wealthy and men of good ability, that have their shops well replenished with all sorts of wares, as well mercery, as grocery, and drapery, both linen and woollen, and there is neither silk man nor milliner in London, that can show better wares, for the quantity, than some of those can do, that be called merchants of Dublin.

But I am now to speak of a certain kind of commodity that outstretcheth all that I have hitherto spoken of, and that is the selling of ale in Dublin, a quotidian commodity, that hath vent in every

[1] The London merchants complained on various occasions of Dublin restrictions on trade. See *Letters and Papers Hen. VIII*, XIII. (i.), No. 1463. A charter granted to the City by Henry VIII (1546–7) confirmed the privilege granted by King John that "no foreign merchant should buy within the city, of any stranger, corn, leather or wool, but only from the citizens themselves."—*Cal. Pat. Rolls* (ed. Morrin), I. 132.

[2] In a petition addressed by the Gild of Merchants to the Municipal Council in 1584, it was stated that the tailors were then accustomed to "traffic to London several times by the year," and that "cutlers and hat-dressers" brought thence "hats and swords ready-trimmed."—Gilbert, *Cal. Anc. Records of Dublin*, II. 186.

house in the town every day in the week . . . there is no merchandise so vendible (saleable), it is the very marrow of the commonwealth in Dublin: the whole profit of the town stands upon alehouses and selling of ale. . . . They buy malt in Dublin, at half the price that it is sold for in London, and they sell their drink in Dublin at double the rate that they do in London: and this commodity the aldermen's wives and the rest of the women brewers do find so sweet, that Master Mayor and his brethren are willing to wink at, and to tolerate those multitude of alehouses, that themselves do even know to be the very nurseries of drunkenness . . . and many other vile abominations.[1]

(*d*) Hospitality of the Mayor. [Richard Stanihurst,[2] "A Plain and Perfect Description of Ireland" (1577), Holinshed's *Chronicles* (ed. 1808), VI. 21–3.]

This city, as it is not in antiquity inferior to any city in Ireland, so in pleasant situation, in gorgeous buildings, in the multitude of people, in martial chivalry, in obedience and loyalty, in the abundance of wealth, in largeness of hospitality, in manners and civility it is superior to all other cities and towns in that Realm. And therefore it is commonly called the "Irish" or "Young" London. The seat of this city is of all sides pleasant, comfortable and wholesome. If you would traverse hills they are not far off. If champion ground [3] it lieth of all parts. If you be delighted with fresh water, the famous river called the Liffey . . . runneth fast by. If you will take the view of the sea it is at hand. . . .

The hospitality of the Mayor and sheriffs, for the year being, is so large and bountiful, that soothly London "forepriced" (i.e. excepted), very few such officers under the Crown of England keep so great a port, none I am sure greater. The Mayor, over the number of officers that take their daily repast at his table, keepeth for his year in manner open house. . . . They that spend least in their mayoralty . . . make an ordinary account of £500 for their viand and diet that year: which is no small sum to be bestowed in housekeeping, namely, where victuals are so good cheap, and the presents of friends divers and sundry. . . .

The great expenses of the citizens, may probably be gathered by the worthy and fair-like markets, weekly on Wednesday and Friday kept in Dublin. Their shambles is so well stored with meat, and their market with corn, as not only in Ireland, but also

[1] Measures were often taken to check the disorders which arose in the taverns. By an order issued by the Viceroy and Council, in 1636–7, all keepers of taverns in Dublin were prohibited from admitting into their houses any fellow, student, or scholar of Trinity College, without the approbation of the Provost. See Gilbert, *Cal. Anc. Recs.*, III. xiii.

[2] Richard Stanihurst (1547–1611) was the son of James Stanihurst, a prominent Dublin citizen. He was educated at Oxford and wrote about Ireland from an English standpoint.

[3] Level open country.

in other countries you shall not see any one shambles, or any one market better furnished with the one or the other, than Dublin is.

(e) Attacks of the Irish. [A Letter written from Dublin to [Thomas Cromwell] (3 Sept., 1533). *S.P. Hen. VIII* (1834), II. 180–1.]

No doubt here be very well disposed people, and full of abstinence. Your Mastership knoweth, their accustomed ceremony is to refrain flesh on the Wednesday; but now they be much more full of devotion, for they do not only abstain it on the Wednesday, but also Sunday, Monday, Tuesday and Thursday. This is a very sore abstinence. I trust to Jesu, ye shall hear, that there shall be many saints amongst them; but they play the fox's part, shy of hens, when he could not reach them. For I assure your Mastership, all the butchers in Dublin hath not so much beef to sell, as would make one mess of broth . . . and cause thereof is, they be nightly robbed; there hath been 4 or 5 preys taken out of Saint Thomas, within this 10 days, so that one butcher for his part hath lost 220 kye (cows). And another cause is, the country is so [un]quiet, that they dare not ride one mile out of the town to buy any manner of victuals . . . so as the poor butchers be remedyless, and have closed up their shops, and taken them to making of "prekes" thinking that there is a new Lent.

[*A Description of Ireland* (1598), ed. E. Hogan, pp. 39–42.]

Of this county of Dublin there is some in this action of rebellion. The country commonly called by the late captain thereof Fiach MacHugh's country[1] is full of woods and hills [so] that it administereth a marvellous succour to the rebels that lie therein, for there they lie safely in a manner, and the cattle having pasture in abundance can hardly be driven away, there being so few entries and outgates into the country. In this the rebels remain commonly all day, and in the beginning of the night they come abroad and waste the countries far and near; and the vicinity of this country to Dublin doth much annoy the city, for it being within 4 or 5 miles of the city, the city is constrained to keep strong watch lest on a sudden these rebels that lurk in these mountains do set the suburbs on fire, which hath heretofore been done by them in the government of the late Lord Grey. . . . All the gentlemen between Dublin and these mountains do daily sustain great loss in their goods, and sometimes lose their lives.

[Civic Regulations for the protection of the City (1598–1600). Sir John Gilbert, *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*, III. 523–33.]

[1598] For better defence of this city in this time of rebellion, it is agreed that 2 men guard each gate every day and the like

[1] The country of the sept of the O'Byrnes which lay in the Wicklow Mountains, south of Dublin.

number every night, at the charge of the city inhabitants. If any alarm happen in the suburbs, the wicket of the gate to be opened to let in the women and children ; no men of the suburbs to be admitted, but to remain out for strengthening the suburbs ; and while the wickets are open, the alderman who keeps the keys is to attend in person with 6 sufficient men of the citizens with each of them.

[1599] In respect the nights are now growing long, and that it is very requisite a care be had of the safety of the suburbs, the rebels being lurking near the city ; it is therefore agreed and resolved upon, in a meeting of the mayor and aldermen this day, that the watch now kept in the suburbs shall be doubled, and the watch continued within the walls as now it is . . . the gates to be shut at eight of the clock presently after the bell in Saint Audoen's Church do ring ; the wickets to stand open one hour after, during which time the watch to stand at the wickets.

[1600] That the warders be directed to observe and mark what Irishmen come into the city, and they finding any to be suspicious to bring them to Mr. Mayor : and he to cause them to be examined what business they have, and of the causes of their tarrying within the city. . . . That Mr. Mayor cause such as ward the gates to suffer no powder, arms nor munition to pass out of any gate unless it be by warrant of the Council . . . nor suffer no strange beggars to come into the city.

(*f*) **Complaint of Poverty.** [Letter from the Mayor and Citizens of Dublin to Lord Burghley (1597). Pr. by Sir John Gilbert in *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*, III. 522–3.]

To the Right Honourable the Lord Burghley, Lord High Treasurer of England :

In most humble manner sheweth unto your good Lordship your Honour's suppliants, the Mayor and Citizens of the City of Dublin in Ireland :

That whereas they have shewed their zealous and dutiful forward willingness at all times to advance her Majesty's service, both by the hazard of their lives and the expense of their goods, so it is that by reason of their extraordinary great charges, sustained since these late troubles in that Realm, as well in maintaining of armed companies of citizens in the field for the furtherance of her Majesty's service, as in victualling of her Highness's soldiers from time to time above her Majesty's allowance, amounting to the value of £3,000, as particularly by a book made thereof ready to be shewed may appear ; and also in respect of the late great loss and lamentable ruin happened to the whole city by the unfortunate firing of her Majesty's munition, to the value of £14,000, besides the number of

126 persons slain by the same accident ; [1] and likewise through the badness of the harbour of the same city [2] and the troubles both abroad and at home, your Lordship's suppliants are greatly impoverished and decayed, as the Lord Deputy and Council have, in their letters of favour in their behalf, certified unto your Honour and the rest of the Lords of her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, to their irrevocable loss, if her Majesty do not extend her most gracious and accustomed bounty towards them. The petitioners most humbly beseech that it may therefore please your good Lordship to further that her Majesty may be pleased to grant unto them and their successors their humble requests contained in the annexed articles,[3] for their better encouragement, and enabling them to continue their accustomed forwardness in the furtherance of her Majesty's service, wherein they will be ready to bestow their lives, lands and goods if occasion be offered.

(3) Waterford

(*a*) General Description. [Richard Stanihurst, "A Plain and Perfect Description of Ireland" (1577). Pr. in Holinshed's *Chronicles* (ed. 1808), VI. 28.]

This city (Waterford) [4] is properly builded, and very well compact, somewhat close by reason of their thick buildings and narrow streets. The haven is passing good, by which the citizens through the intercourse of foreign traffic in short space attain to abundance of wealth.[5] The soil about it is not all of the best, by reason of which the air is not very subtle, yet nevertheless the sharpness of their wits seemeth to be nothing rebated or dulled by reason of the grossness of the air. For in good sooth the townsmen, . . . are pregnant in conceiving, quick in taking, and sure in keeping.

[1] The gunpowder explosion which occurred in March, 1597, is described by Gilbert as the most disastrous incident in the annals of Dublin.—*Cal. Anc. Recs. of Dublin*, II. xvi.

[2] See p. 311 *n.* 3.

[3] They ask for authority to collect fines, freedom from certain customs, etc. See *ibid.*, pp. 519–23. As further evidence of the alleged decline of Dublin towards the end of this period, see the petition of the Mayor that the city might be allowed to make clothes for the soldiers and provide a hospital for them. This, he pointed out, would be "for the good of the soldier and the great relief of the now decayed citizens."—*Cal. S.P.I.* (1598–9), p. 296.

[4] The best general histories of Waterford are those by C. Smith (1746), R. H. Ryland (1824), and J. Hansard (1870).

[5] Camden says of Waterford that for "wealth and resort" it might be reckoned "the second (city) in Ireland."—*Britannia* (ed. 1789), III. 510. Froude quotes the following account from a report made to Philip II, in 1567 : "Waterford contains nearly 1,000 houses. It is surrounded by a stone wall, something less than a mile in circumference, with 17 towers, and cannon on them to keep off the savages. It is the richest town in Ireland after Dublin, and vessels of from 300–400 tons lie at the quays inside the fortifications. The trade of the port is with Galicia, Portugal, Andalusia, and Biscay, where they send fish, hides, salt meat, and at times wheat and barley. The towns control the surrounding country, for the people depend on them to buy such things as they need, and to dispose of their flocks and wool."—*Hist. of England*, X. 479.

The citizens are very heedy[1] and wary in all their public affairs, slow in the determining of matters of weight, loving to look ere they leap. In choosing their magistrate, they respect not only his riches, but also they weigh his experience: and therefore they elect for their Mayor neither a rich man that is young, nor an old man that is poor. They are cheerful in the entertainment of strangers, hearty one to another, nothing given to factions. They love no idle bench whistlers, nor "luskish faitors" (lazy vagabonds): for young and old are wholly addicted to thriving, the men commonly to traffic, the women to spinning and carding. As they distil the best *aqua vitæ* (whisky), so they spin the choicest rug in Ireland. A friend of mine being of late demurrant[2] in London, and the weather by reason of a hard hoar frost being somewhat nipping, repaired to Paris Garden, clad in one of these Waterford rugs. The mastiffs had no sooner espied him, but deeming he had been a bear, would fain have baited him. And were it not that the dogs were partly muzzled, and partly chained, he doubted not, but that he should have been well tugged in this Irish rug: whereupon he solemnly vowed never to see bear-baiting in any such weed.

The city of Waterford hath continued to the Crown of England so loyal, that it is not found registered since the Conquest to have been distained with the smallest spot, or dusked[3] with the least freckle of treason; notwithstanding the sundry assaults of traitorous attempts;[4] and therefore the city's arms are decked with this golden word *Intacta manet:* a poesy (motto) as well to be heartily followed, as greatly admired of all true and loyal towns.

(*b*) Order Relative to Attire (1599). [Municipal Archives of Waterford. *Report of the Historical MSS. Commission*, X. Appendix V. 336.]

Where it is considered by the Mayor, Sheriffs and Citizens of this city how greatly the city is impoverished and daily like to decay, that not only the ablest and wealthiest persons do wear in their attire no part or parcel of anything wrought within this city or Realm, but also their men-servants, maid-servants, and nurses in like manner do wear no other than their masters, being a charge intolerable. For remedy whereof and to the end the inhabitants of this city may be withdrawn from idleness and made to work and content themselves with the clothes wrought and made within this Realm, it is enacted and established by the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Citizens aforesaid, in their dern-hundred, holden in the Gildhall of the said city, 10 Oct., 1599, that from henceforth no nurse, man-servant, or maid-servant shall wear in their attire or garment any fur, fringe, lace, silk, or any woollen or linen, save such as shall

[1] i.e. careful. [2] i.e. resident. [3] i.e. obscured or sullied.
[4] A reference to the activities of Perkin Warbeck in Ireland. He attacked Waterford in conjunction with the Earl of Desmond in 1495.

be wrought within this city or Realm, upon pain of forfeiture of all such garments, and their bodies to be imprisoned, there to remain until they pay 6*s.* 8*d.* as a fine towards the reparation of the walls of this city, as often as they or any of them shall offend in that case.

(*c*) **Incorporation of Waterford Gild (1626).** [Municipal Archives of Waterford, *Rept. Hist. MSS. Comm.*, X. Append. V. 337–8.]

To all Christian people to whom these presents shall come, the Mayor, Sheriffs and Citizens of the county of the city of Waterford send greeting in Our Lord God Everlasting :

Whereas King John, of famous memory, by his letters patent amongst other privileges . . . granted to the citizens of Waterford that they should have and enjoy their reasonable gilds, and distinguish themselves into several misteries and fraternities, as the burgesses of Bristol have used ; which grant of charter, according the ancient usage . . . King Charles . . . and likewise all his predecessors and progenitors, Kings of England, by their several letters patent have confirmed.

We, the said Mayor, Sheriffs and Citizens . . . for the universal good and behoof of the tradesmen, dwelling within the said corporation, and for the general government and civility of the commonwealth, which may not subsist without artificers and manufacturers . . . do give, grant and confirm to the Tailors, Saddlers, Hat-makers, Haberdashers, Hosiers, Broiderers and Button-makers, dwelling and residing within the city of Waterford, that they for ever hereafter shall be one body politic and one gild in name and substance, and really incorporated, consisting of one Master, two Wardens, and of the Society, Gild, and Fraternity of Tailors etc., and that they shall be for ever known, esteemed and reputed by that name . . . and that one of the said gild or fraternity shall be yearly chosen, ordained and elected by the said gild . . . to be Master of the Society aforesaid for one whole year ; and that also two "idoneows" (suitable) and decent persons shall be chosen and elected Wardens of the said gild for one whole year, and that the said election of Master and Wardens for ever hereafter in the Tailors' Hall or other convenient place within the said city shall be yearly upon the feast day of St. John Baptist, and from thenceforth shall take upon them the regiment, order and disposition of the said gild, and before the said Master and Wardens shall take upon them the exercise of their said offices, shall make and take their corporal oaths before the Mayor of the city of Waterford . . . to discharge, exercise, perform and accomplish all and singular acts and things appertaining to their several offices, to the uttermost of their power, discretion and understanding. . . .

(4) Galway

(*a*) General Description. ["A Description of the Province of Connacht," by Sir Oliver St. John (1614), *Cal. Carew MSS.*, VI. 295.]

The province of Connacht has only two corporations, the ancient monuments of the English conquerors, and is inhabited only by English families and surnames; the one is Galway,[1] a walled town and port of the sea, lately made a county, and governed by a Mayor and 2 Sheriffs; the town is small, but has fair and stately buildings, the fronts of the houses (towards the streets) are all of hewed stone up to the top, garnished with fair battlements in a uniform course, as if the whole town had been built upon one model.

The merchants are rich, and great adventurers at sea. Their commonalty is composed of the descendants of the ancient English founders of the town, and rarely admit any new English to have freedom or education among them, and never any of the Irish.[2] They keep good hospitality and are kind to strangers; and in their manner of entertainment and in fashioning and apparelling themselves and their wives, they preserve most the ancient manner and state, as much as any town that ever I saw. The town is built upon a rock, environed almost with the sea and the river, compassed with a strong wall and good defences, after the ancient manner, and such as with a reasonable garrison may defend itself against an enemy.

(*b*) Letter of Henry VIII to the Town of Galway (28 April, 1536). [*S.P. Hen. VIII* (1834), II. 309–11.]

Well-beloved, We greet you well. Signifying unto you, that We, willing of our tenderness and zeal We bear unto you, to the furthering of your weal, profit, and commodity, and the extirpation of all "abusions" hitherto used or accustomed amongst you, will and require you, and nathless straightly charge and command you, that ye firmly and unfeignedly observe the devices and articles ensuing, perpetually.

Item, that no merchant man, or any other man . . . within

[1] See J. Hardiman, *History of Galway* (1820), and Sir J. Gilbert's "Archives of the Town of Galway," *Rep. Hist. MSS. Comm.*, X. Append. V. "This is the chief city of this province (Connacht), and at least the third in Ireland."—Camden, *Britannia*, III, 580. It is described by Sir R. Bingham in a letter written to Burghley, 6 March, 1592, as "a town inhabited by a people that do generally favour the Spanish nation and their religion, their merchants having intercourse and daily traffic with the Spaniards."—*Cal. S.P.I.*, p. 470.

[2] In 1581 the Corporation enacted that if any man should bring any Irishman to "brag or boast upon the town," he was to forfeit 12*d.*: and "that no man of this town shall receive into their houses at Christmas, Easter nor no feast else, any of the Burkes, MacWilliams, the Kelleys, nor no sept else without licence of the Mayor and Council . . . that neither 'O' nor 'Mac' shall strut nor swagger through the streets of Galway."—Hardiman, *op. cit.* p. 201. See Mrs. Green, *Making of Ireland*, pp. 180–1.

our town of Galway . . . go with no manner of merchandise or victual in the country, within 20 miles compass of our said town, save only to our market towns; but suffer the inhabitants of the country to resort to the market of our said town to sell their wares and cattle in our said market, according to the purport of our charters given by Us, and our noble progenitors of famous memory, to you the inhabitants of our town.[1]

Item, that every inhabitant . . . do shave their over lips, called "crompeaulis"[2]; and suffer the hair of their heads to grow, till it cover their ears; and that every of them wear English caps.

Item, that no man, nor man child, do wear no mantles in the streets, but cloaks or gowns . . . doublets and hose, shaped after the English fashion, of the country cloth, or any other cloth [it] shall please them to buy.

Item, that no man, woman, or child, do wear in their shirts or smocks, or any other garments, no saffron, nor have any more cloth in their shirts or smocks, but 5 standard ells of that country cloth.

Item, that every man provide, with all speed, long bows and English arrows, and "haunt" (practise) shooting, and especially every Holy Day; and to leave all other unlawful games.

Item, that every inhabitant within the said town endeavour themselves to speak English, and to use themselves after the English fashion; and especially that you, and every of you, do put forth your child to school, to learn to speak English, and that you fail not to fulfil these our commandments, as you tender our favour, and will avoid our indignation and high displeasure. . . .

Moreover, if O'Brien, or any other Irishman, be at war with our Deputy, or our subjects of our city of Limerick, that in no wise, by any colour, practice, or "covyne" (confederacy) ye suffer no victuals, iron, salt, or other commodity to pass from you to them, during the time of their contention, till they shall be perfectly reconciled, upon pain of your allegiances; and always that you observe the articles before written, especially concerning the keeping of markets, and that none of you resort with any merchandise amongst Irishmen, at any time.

And where We be informed, that at such seasons, as strangers repair within the haven of Limerick, certain of you forestall the market of our said city, alluring and procuring the stranger merchants to repair out of the haven of Limerick to you, offering them advantage above the "proffre"[3] of the said city to their great disadvantage and commodity, and enhancing the price of foreign and alien merchandises, to the profit of aliens. We therefore will and command you that you do not allure and provoke any merchandise

[1] When the towns did not "keep" their markets the King was defrauded of customs. See letter of Henry VIII to the Mayor of Waterford (5 July, 1543). *Cal. Carew MSS.*, I. 56.

[2] See p. 113 *n.* 2.

[3] i.e. offers or proposals.

arriving in the said haven of Limerick to you ; nor they to procure any merchandise arriving in their haven from you to them.[1] . . .

(c) Charter of 1549. [*Calendar Patent Rolls* (ed. Morrin), I. 195–7.]

Charter of Galway, ratifying and confirming a charter of Richard II, who by letters patent, dated 26 Jan., 19° of his reign, granted licence to the provost and co-burgesses of the town, to elect annually, for ever, from amongst themselves a sovereign, who should swear to rule the town faithfully ; that no foreign merchant should buy or sell any merchandise in the town, except in gross ; and that they should have all privileges, immunities, tolls and free customs, as freely as the burgesses of the town of Drogheda, reserving all fines which belonged to the lord of the said town : and reciting and confirming a patent of Richard II, 18 Nov., 19° granting them, in order to fortify and pave the town, the following tolls :—for every pound of ginger 1*d.* ; for every pound of saffron 2*d.* ; for every pound of pepper ¼*d.* ; for every pound of cloves 1*d.* ; for all other spices, worth 12*d.*, ¼*d.* ; for 100 pounds of wax 6*d.* ; for every hide tanned ½*d.* ; for every pound of silk 3*d.* ; for every piece of English cloth 3*d.* ; for every piece of Irish cloth containing 12 yards, ½*d.* ; for every cwt. of iron 2*d.* ; for 100 stones of Spanish iron 4*d.* ; for 1,000 spike nails 1*d.* ; for every large kettle or dish 4*d.* ; for every tun of wine 6*d.* ; for every pipe of wine 3*d.* ; for every seme of corn ½*d.* ; for every last of butter 1*d.* ; for every stone of tallow ½*d.* ; for every crannock of salt 1*d.* ; for every stone of wool 1*d.* ; for 100 woolfells 1*d.* ; for 100 lamb-skins 2*d.* ; for every horse worth 40*s.* and upwards 6*d.* ; for every pack-horse, steer, bull, ox and cow 1*d.* ; for every large hog 1*d.* ; for every sheep or goat ½*d.* ; for a horseload of fish 2*d.* ; for every salmon ¼*d.* ; for every kind of timber and carts . . . 1*d.* ; for every falcon or hawk 1*d.* ; for every ton of honey 8*d.* ; for 8 pounds of hemp and flax 1*d.* ; for every 1,000 dishes and wooden platters ¼*d.* . . . to be expended on the murage and pavage of the town. . . .

(*Former patents also ratified which granted*) to the sovereign, provost, bailiffs and commonalty of the town, power to elect a Mayor and 2 bailiffs to govern the town ; that Lord MacWilliam (Burke) Lord of Clanrickarde, should have no power or authority in the town,[2] without the consent of the Mayor and bailiffs . . . and that all boats or ships entering the town (by the strait between the islands of Arran and the town of Galway) and the Mayor and burgesses of the town, be eased of toll . . . and of all other customs. . . . That no one landing wines at the quay of Galway should pay prisage, that no foreign merchant should pay any but the accustomed tolls for landing merchandise in the town ; that the Mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty might export, wherever they

[1] This letter should be compared with the "Act for the English Order, Habit and Language" (1537). See pp. 112–4.

[2] See p. 67.

please, any merchandise from the town ; that the Mayor etc., should enjoy all advantages and liberties as enjoyed by the Mayor and sheriffs of Drogheda ; saving to the King, the rents . . . and other profits which were accustomed to be rendered out of said town.[1]

(5) Cork

(*a*) General Description.[2] [Richard Stanihurst, "A Plain and Perfect Description of Ireland" (1577). Pr. in Holinshed's *Chronicles* (ed. 1808), VI. 30.]

Cork . . . the fourth city of Ireland, happily planted on the sea. Their haven is an haven royal. On the land side they are [so] encumbered with evil neighbours, the Irish outlaws, that they are fain to watch their gates hourly, to keep them shut at service times, at meals from sun to sun, nor suffer any stranger to enter the city with his weapon, but the same to leave at a lodge appointed. They walk out at seasons for recreation with power of men furnished. They trust not the country adjoining, but match in wedlock among themselves only, so that the whole city is well nigh linked one to the other in affinity.

(*b*) Cork Merchants. [Enactment of the Mayor, etc. (2 Oct., 1626). *Council Book of the City of Cork* (ed. R. Caulfield), p. 127.]

By daily experience we, the Mayor etc., do see that many rich artificers being chosen masters of companies in this city, are by giving many superfluous entertainments and feasts to their said companies so exhausted in their means as they are constrained in their year's end, if not before, to quit housekeeping in this city, and to betake themselves to foreign countries to get relief for themselves, their wives and children : It is therefore by us enacted, that no master of any company shall entertain his company but once in a year, and that at what time he shall think most convenient, upon pain of £5 sterling for every time he shall infringe this law, to be levied off his goods by way of distress, or recovered by action of debt at the Chamberlain's election.

[Inventory of the goods of Thomas Roinane, late Alderman of the City of Cork (1641). Pr. in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries Ireland.* (1856–7), IV. 75–6.]

Plate : 1 silver gilted salter ; 1 silver wine bowl ; 3 small silver wine bowls ; 1 silver beer bowl ; 1 dozen silver spoons ; 1 gold chain ; 2 gold jewels ; 1 gold signet ; 1 silver chain.

[1] Most important of which was the custom of every last of hides, which was called the "cocket."

[2] See C. Smith, *Ancient and Present State of the Co. and City of Cork* (1774). Repr. by the Cork Hist. and Arch. Soc. (1893).

"This city is . . . of an oval figure surrounded by walls, environed and intersected by the river (Lee) which is passable only by bridges, and consisting of one straight street continued by a bridge. It is, however, a little trading town of great resort and eminence." —Camden, *Britannia*, III. 501.

Household Stuff: 3 drawing boards; 6 stools covered with Turkey cushions; 4 plain stools; 12 chairs great and small; 2 presses; 2 round tables; 1 Turkey carpet; 3 carpets; 2 long forms; 2 cupboards; 7 bedsteads; 3 feather beds with bolsters and "pillowbeeres"[1]; 3 flock beds with bolsters; 4 pair of linen sheets; 3 rugs; 3 "caddowes"[2]; 2 pair of curtains; 4 table cloths; 2 dozen diaper napkins; 2 dozen linen napkins; 2½ dozen pewter dishes, a basin and ewer; 2 "voyders"[3]; Danske (Danish) pots; 2 pottle[4] and a quart pott.; 6 brass candlesticks; 2 pair of and-irons (fire-dogs); 1 great kettle for brewing; 1 great brewing pan; 1 brass pan; 2 *aqua vitæ* (whisky) pots; 1 brass meat pot; 1 small brass pan; 3 brass "skillotts"[5]; 1 pair iron racks; 1 pair iron and-irons; 4 iron broaches; 1 grid-iron; 1 dripping pan; 1 frying pan; 1 brass chaffing dish; 1 brass mortar and an iron pistol; 4 chests; 2 trunks; 2 pewter chamber pots; 1 dozen flower pots.

Corn: 10 barrels of malt; 5 barrels of wheat; 2 acres of wheat sowed; 1 acre of great barley sowed; 2½ acres of oats; 1½ acres of beans and peas sowed; 1 acre of bear barley[6] sowed.

Cattle: 5 great cows; 5 heifers; 2 calves; 2 garrons[7]; 100 Irish sheep; 50 lambs.

(6) Limerick[8]

(*a*) **General Descriptions.** [Richard Stanihurst, "A Plain and Perfect Description of Ireland" (1577). Pr. in Holinshed's *Chronicles* (ed. 1808), VI. 29–30.]

This city (Limerick) coasteth on the sea hard upon the river Shannon, whereby are most notably severed Munster and Connacht. . . . The town is planted in an island, which plot in old time, before the building of the city was stored with grass. . . . The very main sea is three score miles distant from the town, and yet the river is so navigable, as a ship of 200 tons may sail to the quay of the city. . . . The building of Limerick is sumptuous and substantial.

[William Camden, *Britannia* (ed. R. Gough, 1789), III. 515.]

Limerick is the chief city of this county, surrounded by the noble river Shannon, which here divides into two channels. It is

[1] Pillow-cases. [2] Rough woollen coverings. [3] Receptacles for refuse.
[4] A pottle-pot was a two-quart pot or tankard.
[5] Cooking utensils. [6] A coarse variety. [7] See p. 150 *n.* 1.
[8] See M. Lenihan, *Limerick, its History and Antiquities*, also a contemporary map of Limerick in O'Grady's ed. of the *Pacata Hibernia*, I. 187.

the seat of a bishop and the most considerable port of Munster. . . . At present it consists of two parts : that called the upper one (town), in which are the cathedral and castle, has two gates with handsome stone bridges with battlements and drawbridges, one leading westward, the other eastward, to which last below adjoins a town [1] walled round with its castle and outworks.

(*b*) Petitions to Queen Elizabeth. [Queen Elizabeth to the Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sydney (27 Sept., 1575). *Cal. Carew MSS.*, II. 25–6.]

On considerations of certain petitions which the Mayor, bailiffs and commonalty of Limerick have caused to be made unto us here, we have resolved in such sort as hereafter particularly ensueth. They require confirmation of their privileges and liberties, and that there may be added their charter, warrant and commission to have a sword borne before the Mayor of that city, with a hat of maintenance, and authority to deliver the gaol of the said city ; that none of the Irishry be preferred to any ecclesiastical living in the cathedral church of Limerick ; that no ship coming within the river there do sell or discharge any munition, shot, powder, wines or other wares to any other than to the said corporation ; to have all such fines and forfeitures as are given by statutes penal, concordatum, or by any other means which are or shall hereafter be due upon any of the said citizens ; that neither the Mayor nor any of the bailiffs, during their being in office, shall be compelled to travel in person to Dublin ; and that the dwellers in "Clankillan" may appear at all assizes and sessions in Limerick, as heretofore. We have thought good to grant the same petitions by letters patent under our Great Seal of England.

They do also make petition that their Mayor and his successors may be Admiral within the river of Limerick, and also for grant of an island lying in the said river called "Iniskattie." [2] We

[1] "It is one of the fairest cities of the Province of Munster upon the River Shannon, distinguished thus, the English town and the Irish town. The English town is an island and hath a wall distinct ; in this is kept the main guard and is seen the King's Castle. The Thomond Gate and the Balls Bridge Gate are the two chiefest gates thereof That part of this city going by the name of the Irish town is also walled in. Here is seen the Citadel ; the chiefest gates of the Irish town are the St. John's Gate and the Mongret Gate. . . . Its situation is in an island encompassed with the water of the Shannon river whence the fortification is the more considerable. It is 60 miles distant from the sea main."—"Journal of Thomas Dineley, giving some account of his visit to Ireland in the reign of Charles II," *Jl., R.S.A.I.* (1867) VIII. 425–41. The lower town was surrounded by a wall a mile in compass, upon which three men might walk abreast. The quay wall which extended from the town wall into the middle of the river and was made for a defence and harbour for the shipping, was "in length about 200 paces" and was a double wall "There is within it a long gallery arched overhead, and with windows most pleasant to walk in, and above that a terrace to walk upon with fair battlements ; at the end of it there is a round tower with 2 or 3 chambers, one above the other, and a battlement above." —Luke Gernons, "A Discourse of Ireland" (1620), printed in Falkiner's *Illustrations Irish Hist.*, pp. 348–62.

[2] Scattery Island.

think it meet to be further advised upon the first point, but as touching the said island, we refer it to be granted by you. . . .

They also require to be as free from cess as the cities of Dublin and Waterford are. We refer this to your consideration. They require also that the said corporation of Limerick may have in their own disposition the granting of the offices of searcher and gauger of the said city. We refer the same to you.[1]

(7) Privileges of Irish Towns. [Document enclosed by the Lord Deputy to the Privy Council (21 Oct., 1592). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, pp. 10–1.]

We[2] have perused the charters of the cities of Waterford, Limerick, Kinsale, Cork and Clonmel, and we find that their franchises are very large, and their liberties for the most part greater than they are in most cities in England, for they have to their own uses all fines and amerciaments of any officer or freeman, imposed in any her Majesty's courts, or before any commissioners whatsoever, and the collection of the same; they have all felon's goods, and they are Justices of Peace and Gaol Delivery, Escheators, Searchers, Gaugers and Clerks of the Markets within themselves, with a clause *quod nulli alii se intromittant*, with authority to be admirals within their franchises, and some of them have express licenses to traffic and merchandise with enemies; which last privilege we have declared unto them to be against law, forwarning them not to presume thereupon. And for the rest of the liberties we cannot restrain them by any course of law, unless upon some manifest cause of forfeiture adjudged in a writ of *quo warranto*, seize and frustrate such liberties. And as we know no cause of forfeiture by any of their misdemeanours, unless it be for their daily contempts in not repairing to hear Divine Service,[3] which the High Commissioners cannot well punish by fine in respect they have the fines to their own uses; so we think, the said corporations and the liberties thereof have been greatly increased by her Majesty's most gracious and favourable charters granted under the Great Seal of England, in respect of their assured loyalties in doubtful and troublesome times, having been always the anchor-hold of assurance in this province. But yet now peace and civility being established such immunities may be some impeachment to the course of justice, which the Lord Deputy and Council do in part prevent, by sending for the offenders by the Sergeant-at-Arms, and imprisonment. All which we leave to your Lordships' good consideration.

[1] A new charter was granted to Limerick by Queen Elizabeth n 1583.—*Cal. Pat. Rolls.* (ed. Morrin), II. 50–6.

[2] The Royal Commissioners in Munster.

[3] Compare *Cal. Carew MSS.*, IV. 177–8.

LXXII. TRADE AND INDUSTRY

(1) Irish Havens. [Sir Anthony St. Leger to Henry VIII (6 April, 1543). *S.P. Hen. VIII*, III. 446–7.]

To advertise your Majesty briefly . . . touching the confluence of strangers to this your Realm; as to the havens on the east side of the same, there is none good between Carlingford and Waterford, which two be very good, and the residue but very evil, saving the road[stead] of Lambay, which is very good: and to all these havens resorteth very few, but of your own Realm, save Bretons and Spaniards in time of peace. And to the havens northward, which is Knockfergus (Carrickfergus), Wolverfleete,[1] the Bann, Lough Foyle, Lough Swilly, Northerborne (? Mulroy Bay), Sheephaven, "Arrane," Callege (Killybegs), Dongale (Donegal), and Assero (Ballyshannon), which are all, save the Bann, Wolverfleete and Knockfergus, in O'Donnell's country, to the which the Scots have their confluence, and the Bretons also, who furnish the same O'Donnell with wine, salt, iron, and munitions of war, as guns and powder, and resort thither as well in war time as [in] peace. And from those havens along the west part to the haven of Limerick, the Spaniards and Bretons have the trade, and few or no Englishmen come there, but only to Galway. And likewise from Limerick to Cork, the Spaniards and Bretons have the trade, as well of the fishings there,[2] as of buying their hides, which is the greatest merchandise of this land, and furnish Irishmen upon that south coast of Munster with salt, iron, guns and powder. Which havens, if they were in your Majesty's hands, it should not only be to your Realm's great profit, the fishings thereof, with the vent of the same hides, but also a great weakening of Irishmen; keeping from them both guns, powder, salt and iron, without the which they should soon be brought to great humility.

The havens, and in whose countries they be, I have sent your Majesty herein a small remembrance; and leave to send your Majesty the estimate what charges shall be thought requisite to have the same, or the principal of them, in your hands, till the further consultation thereof with the rest of your Council, who have more knowledge therein, than I; and only have sent your Majesty the plot of the haven called "Vallentymore," [3] which is in the south part of this your Realm; which haven, as I am informed, is both goodly and of great profit, whereunto resort all Spaniards and Bretons, and few or none of your English subjects, the same being

[1] Wolverfleete = Olderfleete, i.e. Larne.

[2] The Irish coast was much frequented by fishermen from England, Portugal and France.—*Cal. Carew MSS.*, VI. 296. In 1553 Philip II agreed to pay £1,000 a year for 21 years to gain for his subjects the right to fish on the Irish coast.—Bagwell, *Irel. under Tudors*, III. 447.

[3] Baltimore.

in an Irishman's country with whom those Spaniards have great intelligence and favours.[1] . . .

(2) Imports and Exports

(*a*) Opinion of Robert Cogan[2] touching the Customs (1611). [*Cal. Carew MSS.*, VI. 174–6.]

According to your desire, I have set down my opinion how much the customs of this Kingdom of Ireland may yield in present to the King, upon observation made in my last travel into the ports. . . .

Dublin.—This city because the state of the whole Kingdom is continually resident here, and the four terms are kept here, all the Kingdom resorts hither, by which means the trade is far greater than in any other port, and yet the exportation is more than a fourth part less than the importation, viz., in corn, hides, yarn, wool and fells, tallow, rugs, etc., which I value at £20,000 per annum. The importation consists of mercery wares, silks, linen cloth, woollen cloth, grocery and other commodities, which the merchants of this city buy in London and Chester, and bring hither. Some other are brought from beyond seas as wines, iron, salt, etc., which may amount unto £80,000 per annum.

Drogheda.—In this town the exportation is much more than the importation. Here is transported great store of yarn, many hides, woolfells, tallow, furs and such other commodities, and [they] make their returns out of England for the most part in money and some few commodities, both which may be worth about £20,000.

Wexford.—Exports: timber, pipestaves, hides, tallow, woolfells and herrings. Imports: wines, iron, salt, etc. I value the exports and imports at £4,000 per annum.

Ross.—A poor ruined town, out of trade, but one of the best harbours for shipping in the Kingdom. A ship of 500 tons may ride afloat fast by the quay. The exports: hides, tallow, woolfells, rugs, friezes and pipestaves. Imports: wine, iron, salt, etc. I value £2,000.

Waterford.—This city the second for trade in this Kingdom by reason of the commodiousness of the river for bringing in and dispersing all things up the river. Trade outwards: friezes, rugs, corn, hides, tallow, woolfells, pipestaves, etc., which they transport into Spain, and make their returns in wine, iron, salt and English wares from Bristol Fair, twice a year. I value the exports and imports £30,000.

[1] The following are the chief of those havens marked as belonging to the King in the list enclosed by St. Leger:—Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Ross, Youghal, Cork, Kinsale, Limerick, Galway, Knockfergus (Carrickfergus), Strangford, Carlingford.

[2] Inspector of the Customs.

DUNGARVAN.—A very poor fisher town. Chief trade of this place, transport of the fish taken there, which is hake in great abundance, herrings and salmon, some hides, etc. Value £1,000.

YOUGHAL.—This town has a commodious haven for shipping, and increases both in habitation and trade by reason of the English that daily resort thither out of the western parts to inhabit and plant thereabouts. Exports: timber, pipestaves, salmon, hides, rugs, friezes, tallow, woolfells, etc. Imports: wines, iron, salt and many English commodities. Value £3,000.

CORK.—This city is a very populous place, but inferior in trade to Waterford. Exports: rugs, friezes, hides,[1] tallow, woolfells, pipestaves, etc. The returns are in wines, iron, salt and commodities from Bristol Fair, twice a year. Exports £20,000 per annum.

KINSALE.—A poor town ruined by the late rebellion, but one of the best harbours in the Kingdom. It depends most upon fishing of pilchards, herring, and hake, which are taken in the harbour. There is also transported some hides, beef, tallow and woolfells, and make their returns in wine, iron and salt. £1,000 per annum. . . .

LIMERICK.—This city has a fair commodious river, and stands in a fertile soil, and yet the trade is but small in comparison with the other cities. It consists of corn, hides, pipestaves, woolfells, skins, tallow, salmon and beef, and returns wines, iron, salt and English commodities from Bristol Fair, twice a year. Value £10,000 a year.

GALWAY.—This town is situated in a bay. Country about it, very rocky and barren, trade great, chiefly in transporting hides, yarn, woolfells, beef, furs, etc., returns wine, iron, salt and some commodities out of England, which may amount unto per annum £20,000.

Total sum of exports and imports of these cities and towns amounts to the sum of £211,000.

Of the rest of the towns which lie northwards I cannot as yet satisfy you, because I never saw them, but by conjecture, they are not many, neither do I conceive them to be of any great trade, but consisting chiefly of fishing for salmon and herring, which is in great abundance and may yield the King a great profit, being carefully looked into. There are also transported many hides, yarn, tallow and sheepskins, beef, etc., which will help to increase the King's customs, when officers are placed in them as in other towns.[2]

[1] During the wars Cork had all the traffic and transport of hides from Kinsale, Ross, Kerry, Desmond, etc.—*Cal. Carew MSS.*, VI. 207.

[2] The customs were farmed in Ireland as in England. For short accounts of the Irish revenue, see Dunlop, *Irel. under the Commonwealth*, I. xxxiii.–xxxv. G. O'Brien, *Econ. Hist. of Ireland in the Seventeenth Century*, pp. 85–94.

(*b*) Exchange Commodities. ["A Discourse of Ireland" (1601). *Cal. S.P. Ireland* (1601–3), p. 251.]

The rebels have several great commodities . . . which they exchange with the stranger for munition. The principal commodity is hides, tallow and sheepskins. . . . These supplies are larger than the State supposes, and where they are not compelled to eat up their stud mares, or that they be not taken away from them by her Majesty's forces, they have great breeds of horses, which are a very great commodity.[1]

Moreover in the north of Ireland, they have a great commodity of yarn, which formerly they have traded into England, but now they reserve it to exchange for munition. If these products do not suffice to buy what munition they want, yet the merchants who are their friends export to Ireland great quantities of English produce which are as good as English money for the purpose of purchasing the Irish supplies of munition from abroad.

(*c*) O'Donnell's Trade in Fish. ["Notes of Ulster"[2] (1560). *Cal. Carew MSS.*, I. 308.]

O'Donnell is the second best lord in Ulster, and hath lords under him as the said O'Neill hath. He is best lord of fish in Ireland, and he exchangeth fish always with foreign merchants for wine, by which [he] is called in other countries, the "King of Fish."

(3) Foreign Enterprise in Ireland

(*a*) Dutch Settlers at Swords. [Sir Henry Sydney to Sir Francis Walsingham (1576). A. Collins, *Letters and Memorials of State*, I. 161–2.]

Whereas of late certain agents from the merchant-strangers of the Low Countries, have been suitors unto me, that they might obtain my allowance and good consent, to have some convenient place, within this Realm, assigned unto them, where they might remain and dwell in safety together, in the exercise of their religion, and be incorporated with certain freedoms, privileges and liberties . . . I having with the advice of her Majesty's Council . . . had consideration of their suit, and weighing how necessary and expedient it is, to have this country more plentifully peopled, and especially stored with mechanical and handicraftsmen, whereof now there is too great want and scarcity, for the working

[1] The trade in horses was fairly extensive, as is shown by a proclamation of 1579, prohibiting transportation to Scotland and France.—*Cal. Car. MSS.*, II. 201.

[2] Ulster being the last civilised part of Ireland possessed as yet no corporate towns and few markets. Wine was evidently generally imported in exchange for fish. Shane O'Neill is said to have kept usually in his cellars at Dungannon 200 tuns of wine.—Holinshed's *Chronicles* (ed. 1808), VI. 331.

of the commodities within the land ; [1] and likewise the rather, both to allure, and teach the natives of the soil, to be more industrious, and to learn to set themselves a-work, whereby so large commodity would grow to the country, benefit to her Majesty in the increase of her custom, and other way, in licensing the strangers to reside and dwell here amongst them : I have therefore assented to divers of their petitions, and put them in comfort, that they shall be both lovingly received, countenanced by my authority, and likewise enjoy such liberties, and favour, as, in good discretion I can grant them. . . . For it is a thing I have long wished and sought for, to have this country stored of men of their sort, whereof there is in all places of this Realm so great want.

[Sir Henry Sydney's "Summary Relation of all his Services in Ireland" (1582). *Cal. Carew MSS.*, II. 350.]

I caused to plant and inhabit there above 40 families of the Reformed Churches of the Low Countries, flying thence for religion's sake, in one ruinous town called Swords. And truly (Sir) it would have done any man good to have seen how diligently they wrought, how they re-edified the quiet spoiled old castle of the same town, and repaired almost all the same, and how goodly and cleanly they, their wives and children lived. They made diaper and ticks for beds, and other good stuff for man's use, and excellent good leather of deer skins, goat and sheepfells as is made in Southwark.

(*b*) Italian Merchants. [Dublin Assembly Roll (1603), Sir John Gilbert. *Cal. Ancient Records of Dublin*, II. 409.]

Whereas the commons complained that one Henry Walsh, a merchant-stranger and factor for certain Italians of great wealth, have gathered together great masses of this country's commodities, and putteth certain a-work within this city (Dublin) and in the country to buy what commodities or merchandise they can get, raising the prices to a great height, and procuring scarcity thereof to the great hurt of the citizens : it is therefore ordered . . . for better preventing of the inconveniencies that is like to happen to this city by the course now used by the said Walsh, that none of the citizens or inhabitants of this city shall buy or sell, commerce or bargain with the said Walsh from henceforth, upon pain of forfeiture of an hundred pounds sterling, by every free citizen, and forfeiture of his freedom.[2]

[1] Other Englishmen at this period also reported upon the want of good labourers handicraftsmen and artificers in Ireland.

[2] A similar complaint was lodged in 1609 against "the traffic of the Dutch merchants, and others their factors, in all parts of this Kingdom." See *Cal. Anc. Recs of Dublin*, II. 519.

(*c*) **The Dutch in Dublin.** ["A Project of Sir Thomas Phillips for the Londoners' Plantation in the County of Coleraine and the Derry sent to Robert, Earl of Salisbury" (1611). *Cal. Carew MSS.* VI. 150.]

The profit of merchandise [1] brought from London to furnish not only the northern part but also Dublin and Drogheda, which are now furnished by Dutchmen, who of late are entered into the trade, and bring all kinds of commodities, as silks, velvets, holland, cambric, lawn, all kind of grocery, to the great decaying of all the merchants in Dublin, who were yearly accustomed to employ great sums of money in London, which now, by reason of the Dutchman's trade thither, will in short time decay, who by reason of their small charge in shipping are able to afford their wares cheaper than those who bring it from London.

(*d*) **Project for a Dutch Settlement on Lough Erne.** [Sir John Davies to Salisbury (20 Sept., 1609). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, p. 288.]

Have now finished their service in Fermanagh, which is so pleasant and fruitful a country that if he should make a full description thereof, it would rather be taken for a poetical fiction than for a true and serious narration. The freshwater lake called Erne (being more than 40 miles in length and abounding with fresh-water fish of all kinds and containing 100 dispersed islands) divides that county into two parts; the land on either side the lough, rising in little hills of 80 or 100 acres apiece, is the fattest and richest soil in all Ulster.

Here is a Dutch merchant called Maximilian, who, like the rest of his nation, is diligent and industrious to improve the commodities of this Kingdom. He makes suit to the Lord Deputy that a colony of Hollanders may be planted in the islands of this lough. If his demands be not unreasonable, they wish his suit may be granted; for a plantation of the Dutch in this place will be a great encouragement and benefit to the undertakers; for by their industry all the commodities of those parts will be wrought and vented, and the lake will be so full of boats and barks that they will be a great strength to all the civil inhabitants round about.

(4) Piracy on the Irish Coast

(*a*) **Dangers of the Irish Sea.** ["Articles to be showed unto the King's most noble Grace by my lord of Surrey, Admiral of England, on the behalf of the Earl of Ormonde, the King's Deputy (1524)." *Letters and Papers Hen. VIII*, IV. (i), No. 81.]

The intercourse between France and Scotland is carried on mainly through the Irish Channel, and there is no navy in Ireland

[1] To be gained, according to Sir Thomas Phillips's plan, by the Londoners in their plantation.

to encounter such ships; so that in time of war the Bretons and the Scotch do infinite damage on the coast, and no picards dare cross the sea between England and Ireland. Desires therefore, five or six ships well manned.

(*b*) English Pirates. [John Cooke[1] to the Duke of Norfolk (27 March, 1534). *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, VII, No. 381.]

I . . . scoured the coast about Wight, and was at sea on Our Lady Eve all night, seeking for . . . pirates. . . . On Passion Sunday at night, Adams and seventeen of the pirates landed at Ryde at midnight, where they forced their way into one Benet's beer house, and drank there against his will. Each of the pirates had a sword and buckler, and three of them were in velvet doublets and guarded hoses cut and with sarcenet under; all very tall men. From thence they went westward towards Ireland. Six drowned men, some with stones tied about their necks, have been found about Wight and Hamble, who were thrown overboard by these pirates. Has laid watches on the coast. These pirates discharge their pillage at Dublin, Cork and Kinsale.[2]

(*c*) Complaint of the Mayor of Waterford. [Mayor, etc., of Waterford to Sir William Wyse (23 Oct., 1548). *Cal. S.P.Ireland*, p. 90.]

Stating that David Power and James Goghe had arrived in their haven and desired permission to victual, which was refused them, and that the next morning they had robbed a Portuguese ship. No foreign ships dare come to their port for fear of the pirates. The ruinous charges they sustain in maintaining pirates in prison. Desire the despatch of the said prisoners, and a recompense of their charges.

(*d*) Attacks upon English Fishing Fleets. ["Memorial for Ireland" (1606). *Cal. S.P. Ireland* (1630–6), p. 386.]

Many men of war, as well Flemish as English pirates, about the fishing times of Ireland, fall from their pickering upon the coast of Spain into the western parts of Ireland, seemingly on purpose to victual themselves upon the fishing fleet bound from the south and west coasts of England, to make their voyage upon those parts of Ireland, which this year hath robbed more than 100 sail, and sent them empty home.

(*e*) Daring Enterprises. [Sir Arthur Chichester to Salisbury (27 June, 1610). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, p. 473.]

The pirates upon this coast[3] are so many and are become so bold that now they are come into this channel, and have lately

[1] Commissary of the Admiralty in Hants.

[2] Ireland was described by the Earl of Surrey in 1521 as "the very land of refuge that English pirates most resort unto."—*Cal. Car. MSS.*, I. 20.

[3] This letter was written from Dublin.

robbed divers barks, both English and Scotch, and have killed some that have made resistance; they lay for the Londoners' money sent for the works at Coleraine, but missed it; they have bred a great terror to all passengers, and he thinks will not spare the King's treasure if they may light upon it. . . .

(5). The Depreciation of the Currency

(*a*) General Account. [Sir John Davies, "The Case of Mixed Money." *A Report of Cases and Matters in Law resolved and adjudged in the King's Courts in Ireland,*[1] pp. 48–9.]

Queen Elizabeth in order to pay the royal army which was maintained in this Kingdom for several years, to suppress the rebellion of Tyrone, caused a great quantity of mixed money, with the usual stamp of the arms of the Crown, and inscription of her royal style, to be coined in the Tower of London, and transmitted this money into this Kingdom, with a proclamation, bearing date 24th May in the 43rd year of her reign, by which her Majesty declared and established this mixed money, immediately after the said proclamation, to be the lawful and current money of this Kingdom of Ireland, and expressly commanded that this money should be so used, accepted and reputed by all her subjects and others, using any traffic, or commerce within this Kingdom; and that if any person or persons should refuse to receive this mixed money according to the denomination or valuation thereof, viz., shillings for shillings, sixpenny pieces for sixpenny pieces, etc., being tendered for payment of any wages, fees, stipends, debts, etc., they should be punished as contemners of her royal prerogative and commandment. And to the intent that this mixed money should have the better course and circulation, it was further declared by the same proclamation, that after the 10th day of June immediately following, all other money which had been current within this Kingdom, before the said proclamation, should be cried down and annulled and esteemed as bullion, and not as lawful and current money of this Kingdom.

(*b*) An Explanation of the Policy. [William Camden, "Annales Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum" (1615–25).[2] Tr. in White Kennet's *A Complete History of England,* II. 643.]

About this time (1601) there was issued out a Proclamation pursuant to an Act made in Henry VII's reign,[3] forbidding the carrying any English money into Ireland, because the rebels secured a great part of what went over to buy arms and ammunition; or else the merchants transported it from thence into foreign parts,

[1] First published in Law French at Dublin in 1615. Translated into English in 1762.

[2] The first part of Camden's *Annals* brought down to the end of 1589, was published in 1615; the second part appeared at Leyden, 1625, and at London, 1627.

[3] 3 Hen. VII, c. 8. *Statutes of the Realm,* II. 517–18.

to the great detriment of England; 'twas therefore taken into consideration, the altering the Irish coin, by mixing with it some alloy of brass, forasmuch as the war there drained this Kingdom of an annual sum of £160,000 sterling. By this means some were of opinion, "that the expenses of the war might be lessened: that all the good money might be drawn out of Ireland into England by bills of exchange, and in consequence the rebels lose their trade with foreigners, when the good money failed, which must needs weaken them very much." Others maintained, on the contrary, "that this alteration of the coin, would turn to the Queen's dishonour, and the detriment of the Kingdom: that the good money could not be drawn out of Ireland without a vast expense to the Queen: that there should be a new coin in England; the profit arising thereby would not balance the charge of bringing the old money over; and the profit would be less, were it coined in Ireland, where they must be forced to set up a mint at vast charges, and hire workmen at excessive rates: nor would this in the least prevent the rebels corresponding with foreigners, as long as there was any silver in the new coin, and the merchant knew the way to separate it, since 'tis much the same to him whether he receives one piece of coin or three of the same value; and that it was to be feared the soldiers would mutiny upon this account, forasmuch as their pay would be considerably lessened."

But Buckhurst, the Lord Treasurer, a person well versed in affairs of this kind, got the Queen's leave, upon pleading a necessity, which generally governs the present occasion, for altering the money for a certain time, and then reducing it to its old standard. The Queen herself was averse to this motion, saying often "that it would reflect upon herself, and disoblige her army." However, the soldiers continued quiet and in good order, an happiness peculiar to the Queen, who had a way of commanding by a power mixed with great love and tenderness for her people. But without doubt, it proved a very great prejudice to the army; and whether it turned to her Majesty's advantage or not, I cannot tell. However, it could not but fetch in a vast gain to the pay-masters and officers of the Treasury: and perhaps it owed its contrivance to the avarice of that sort of men, which is usually very ingenious where anything is to be got.

(*c*) **Rise in Prices.** [Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary* (1617), I. iii. 283.]

The Irish had a mint house at the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign.[1] But in our memory the Irish have not enjoyed any privilege of coining monies, but have continually received them from the mint of England. And for the most part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, they had the same coin with the

[1] See Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage*, I. 332.

English, save that the Irish shillings were stamped with a harp, the arms of the Kingdom, and being called Harpers, were only worth 9*d.* English. But civil war having set all Ireland in a combustion, the same Queen, more easily to subdue the rebels,[1] did take silver coin from the Irish, some few years before her death, and paid her army with a mixed base coin, which by proclamation was commanded to be spent and received for sterling silver money, for no pieces of gold were at any time expressly coined for the Irish. And this base mixed money had 3 parts of copper, and the fourth part of silver, which proportion of silver was in some sort consumed by the mixture, so as the English goldsmiths valued a shilling thereof at no more than 2 silver pence, though they acknowledged the same to be worth 2½*d.* At last the civil war being appeased immediately before the Queen's death, King James, her successor, in the year 1605, took away this mixed coin and restored their old silver Harpers to the Irish.

[Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary*, II. i. 90–1.]

[1600–1] Here his Lordship received from the Lords directions to decry the silver money, and to proclaim a new coin, 3 ounces fine; which base money was sent over, only to impoverish the rebels (as was pretended) who made war against the Queen with her own treasure; but in conclusion it was the undoing of all the Queen's servants there, for no man cared to lay it up, and all things were bought at excessive rates, after the exchange in England once failed. This exchange was proclaimed to be held at 3 cities in England, and 4 in Ireland; but by reason that great sums were coined by rebels and strangers and for other abuses of the same, as namely of the merchants, who notwithstanding that the money was duly changed, did excessively raise all prices, this exchange soon failed, and our hearts therewith; for we served there in discomfort, and came home beggars, so that only the treasurers and pay-masters, who were thereby infinitely enriched, had cause to bless the authors of this invention.

(*d*) General Discontent. [The Mayor and Sheriffs of Dublin to Secretary Cecil (7 Jan., 1603). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, p. 551.]

All victuals, and especially grain, are extremely scarce here; so much so that we have petitioned the Lord Deputy and Council to recommend to you and the Privy Council our petition asking for a licence [to us] to provide some grain there, and for the Queen's order that it be paid for [out of the Exchequer] in silver

[1] The proclamation of 20 May, 1601, states that the English money hitherto sent into Ireland to pay the royal armies, had been used by the rebels to "traffic" in foreign countries, and to procure "powder, lead, match, arms and weapons of all sorts . . . wines, cloths and other necessaries," without which they could not possibly so long have subsisted "in their treasonable courses."—*Cal. Patent Rolls* (ed. Morrin), II. 578.

coin of England, we paying Sir George Carey [1] a similar amount [in face value] of the new Irish coin together with £20 per cent. of the same. Without this we cannot live, for foreign trade is stopped and no commodities can be had in this Kingdom but at 50 per cent. increase of price; so that all trade is quite gone and we thereby grow to poverty. . . . Pray favour this poor incorporation

[Sir John Davies to Cecil (1 Dec., 1603). *Cal. S.P. Ireland*, p. 112.]

This State doth suffer that punishment that Tantalus suffers by the poet's fiction in Hell; that is, it pines in plenty, for though there be no want of corn, no want of cattle, no want of anything necessary for the life of man, yet because [of] the want [of] *mensura publica*, which is money to measure the price of all these things, they that want these things cannot have them; for the money which is now current by proclamation . . . albeit the same be decried from 12*d.* to 4*d.*, yet it carries such dis-estimation with the people, as they will not accept it for the basest commodity at that rate. And because my Lord Deputy . . . hath committed divers tradesmen for refusing to accept this money, thereupon the farmer dares not send his country commodities, nor the townsmen expose his wares, fearing lest he should be compelled to accept that money with which he is not able to feed his family; every man offers already to give the shilling for 2*d.*, although there be 2½*d.* and 3*d.* fine silver in it, and divers merchants do buy up great sums of it. And therefore in the opinion of some it were more honourable and more profitable for the King to resume the money at the same rate; for which he (Davies) ventures to say his Majesty shall have more prayers and praise and acclamations in this poor Kingdom, than for all the pardons which he hath given.

LXXIII. THE ENGLISH IN IRELAND

(1) Form of Government. [Fynes Moryson, "Of the Commonwealth of Ireland." [2] Pr. in C. L. Falkiner's *Illustrations of Irish History*, pp. 234–73.]

The English have always governed Ireland not as a conquered people by the sword and the conqueror's law, but as a province united upon marriage or like peaceable transactions, and by laws established in their Parliaments with consent of the three estates. The supreme magistrate is the Lord Deputy . . . with the Council of State named and appointed in England, and these have their

[1] Vice-Treasurer of Ireland and Treasurer at War.

[2] This portion of the *Itinerary* was not included in the edition of 1617. It was printed by Mr. Falkiner, partly from extracts given in C. Hughes' "Shakespeare's Europe," and partly from the original manuscript in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

residence at Dublin. The next is the Lord President of Munster,[1] with counsellors or provincial assistants, named and appointed by the Lord Deputy, with a chief justice and the King's attorney for the province. . . . The province of Connacht was in like sort governed by a governor (after styled Lord President) with counsellors to assist him, and among them a chief justice and the King's attorney, as in Munster, both governing in chief as well for military as civil matters, according to their instructions out of England, and the directions and commands from the Lord Deputy. . . . The cities and towns had their subordinate magistrates, as mayors and sovereigns to govern them. But the courts for the Common Law for all Ireland were only at Dublin, as the King's Bench, the Common Pleas, and the Exchequer, as likewise the Chancery for Equity. And there the King's records were kept by a Master of the Rolls. And all causes in these several courts were pleaded in the English tongue, and after the manner of the courts in London, save that Ireland of old times had made such frequent relapses to the sword, as the practice of the law was often discontinued, and the custom of the courts by intermission were many times forgotten, and the places being then of small profit were often supplied by unlearned and unpractised men.[2] And there also at the end of the war was erected the Court of the Star Chamber.[3] And there resided the chief judges of the whole Kingdom, as the Lord Chancellor, Mr. Chief Justice, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, who had not formerly the style of lords nor scarlet habits, both which were granted them after the rebellion ended, to give more dignity to the law. All the counties had sheriffs for execution of justice yearly appointed by the Lord Deputy, only Ulster was not then divided into counties, as now it is, and hath the same officers. . . . As for the Lord Deputy, he is made by the King's letters patent during pleasure, and commonly hath continued some 3 years, but sometimes fewer or many more years, at the King's pleasure. Sometimes he hath the title of Lord-Lieutenant for greater honour, as the Earl of Essex lately had, and sometimes for diminution is styled Lord Justice, as more especially when, upon the death of the Lord Deputy, one or more Lords Justices are chosen to govern till a new Deputy be appointed. . . . But howsoever the titles differ the power is all one. . . . The Lord Deputy by his letters patent under the

[1] See pp. 164–6.

[2] See an account of a court held at Trim, in Co. Meath, by Sir William Gerard, the Lord Chancellor, in Feb. 1577. He compares the court to an "English penhold for cattle . . . (there was) no crier to attend, no show of a sheriff." "High time it is," he remarks, "to send over English officers."—*Cal. S.P.I.* (1574–85), p. xxxvi.

[3] See H. Wood, "The Court of Castle Chamber, or Star Chamber in Ireland" *Procs. Roy. Ir. Acad.*, xxxii. sect. (*c.*) x.

Great Seal of Ireland may grant pardon of life, lands and goods, to any guilty or condemned man . . . only special treasons against the King's person are commonly excepted. . . . The King commonly reserves to his own gift some eight chief places, as of the Lords Presidents, the Lord High Treasurer (etc.) for all other places the Lord Deputy grants them under the Great Seal of Ireland. . . . Finally, the Lord Deputy may leave forces, and do all things of regal authority, save coining of money. . . . Notwithstanding in things put in his mere power, the most wise and moderate Deputies, foreseeing the short time of their government . . . and observing that most Deputies returned into England laden with complaints, as well of councillors as of many private men, . . . have been so wary as in many things of their absolute power they used to refer the consideration of them to one or two of the Council, by that art drawing their consent. . . .

(2) Tudor Parliaments. ["Motives of Importance for holding a Parliament in Ireland"[1] (1611). *Cal. Carew MSS.*, VI. 164–70.]

It is a saying of the wisest king that ever was, *ubi multa consilia ibi salus populi*, yet there has not been any Parliament held in Ireland for the space of 27 years. I have looked into all the Parliament rolls which remain in Ireland, and taken notes out of other records, and I find not at any time since Parliaments began in England half so long an intermission as there hath been since the last Parliament holden by Sir John Perrot in 27 Eliz. . . . Henry VII held 5 Parliaments in 22 years. Henry VIII held 6 Parliaments in 38 years. I find no Parliament held in the time of Edward VI, but the first two years of Queen Mary's reign were spent in one Parliament. And lastly, Queen Elizabeth, in the first 27 years of her reign caused 5 Parliaments to be held in Ireland, but since that time 25 years have passed without any Parliament.

But perhaps there have not risen such important causes for calling Parliaments in these last 27 years as in former times. There was not, till late years, a third part of the Kingdom subject to English law and government, so as the English Pale and 2 or 3 shires in Leinster and some of the corporate towns in Munster only, sent knights and burgesses to the Parliament, and the Lords of the Upper House were for the most part all of Leinster. And this is the cause why the ancient barons of Ireland have so mean estates, for to fill up the Upper House of Parliament, the esquires of the Pale were created barons, for necessity of service, in those days, whereas such as have been made earls and barons of late years in the other provinces have far greater territories. All the other parts of the land were under the tyranny of the Irish, who made

[1] This document was probably supplied to Sir George Carew by Sir J. Davies.—*Cal. S.P.I.* (1611–14), p. xxxvi.

such continual incursions upon the English, as they could never make such a form of commonwealth amongst themselves as was capable of good laws and their execution.

Now the whole island, containing 34 shires being entirely subdued, as there was much valour and martial virtue shown in the conquest and recovery thereof, so must there be much wisdom used in establishing civil government, which cannot be done without making new laws for settling both the persons and possessions of the subjects. (*Proposals follow for the abolition by legislation of the Brehon Law.*) . . . The Lower House consists of knights, citizens, and burgesses. There are 34 shires, which will send 68 knights. (*A list of counties and knights follows.*) . . . In 27 Eliz., when the last Parliament was held in Ireland, there were but 26 cities and boroughs which sent citizens and burgesses to the Parliament; but in the next Parliament the number of borough towns will be double, for his Majesty has created some boroughs since his reign, and will be pleased to erect 25 corporate towns more in the escheated lands of Ulster,[1] all which shall send burgesses to the Parliament, and be planted with Protestants and well affected subjects. (*A list of ancient cities and borough towns follows, which includes: Dublin, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Kilkenny, Drogheda, Galway, Wexford, Naas, Trim, Mullingar, Athenry, Athboy, Navan, Carlow, Kildare, Kells, New Ross, Dungarvan, Youghal, Dingle, Dundalk, Knockfergus, Wicklow, Cashel and Clonmel.*) . . . In the Upper House of Parliament: The Lords Spiritual (as the British are now united), are in number but 18, viz., Lord Primate of Armagh, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Archbishop of Cashel, the Archbishop of Tuam, the Bishop of Meath, the Bishop of Kildare [etc.].

The Lords Temporal are in number 25, viz., The Earl of Kildare, the Earl of Ormond, the Earl of Thomond, the Earl of Clanrickarde, the Viscount Barry, the Viscount Roche, the Viscount Gormanston [etc.].

[Sir John Davies's Speech in the Irish House of Lords (21 May, 1613). *Complete Prose Works of Sir John Davies* (ed. Grosart), II. pp. 228–37.]

For the space of 140 years after the first erecting of this High Court in Ireland, it is apparent that never any Parliament was called to reduce the Irish to obedience, or to perfect the conquest of the whole island, but only to reform the English colonies that were become degenerate, and to retain the sovereignty of the Crown of England over them only, and to no other end or purpose. . . . As for the principal Parliaments which have been holden . . .

[1] Among the new boroughs in Ulster were Tyrone, Dungannon, Clogher, Omagh, Coleraine, Limivady, Derry, Lifford, Ballyshannon, Donegal, Raphoe, Rathmullen, Castlereagh, Devenish and Belturbet.

during the reigns of King Henry VIII, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth—for King Edward VI did call no Parliament in Ireland—they were all summoned upon special and particular occasions, and not for the general settlement of the whole Kingdom.

For to what end was the Parliament holden by the Lord Leonard Grey in the 28th of Henry VIII but to attaint the Geraldines, and to abolish the usurped authority of the Pope?

Wherefore did Sir Anthony St. Leger call the next Parliament after, in the 38th of Henry VIII, but to invest that prince with the title of King of Ireland, and to suppress the abbeys and religious houses?

To what purpose did Thomas Earl of Sussex hold his first Parliament in the 3rd and 4th of King Philip and Queen Mary, but to settle Leix and Offaly in the Crown? And his second in the second year of Queen Elizabeth, but to re-establish the reformed religion in this Kingdom?

What was the principal cause that Sir Henry Sydney held a Parliament in the 11th year of Queen Elizabeth, but to extinguish the name of O'Neill and entitle the Crown to the greatest part of Ulster?

And lastly, what was the chief motive of the last Parliament holden by Sir John Perrot, but the attainder of two great peers of this Realm, the Viscount Baltinglas, and the Earl of Desmond, and for vesting of their lands, and the lands of their adherents, in the actual possession of the Crown? . . .

And now having made a summary collection of the principal causes of summoning the former Parliaments . . . I must not forget to note also unto your Lordship, what and how many persons were called in former times to make up the body of this great council. For the persons before the 33rd year of King Henry VIII we do not find any to have had place in Parliament, but the English of blood, or English of birth only; for the "mere" Irish in those days were never admitted, as well because their countries lying out of the limits of counties, could send no knights, and having neither cities nor boroughs in them, could send no burgesses to the Parliament; besides, the State did not then hold them fit to be trusted with the counsel of the Realm.

For the number since before the 34th year of King Henry VIII, when Meath was divided into shires, there were no more than 12 counties in Ireland, besides the liberty of Tipperary; the number of knights must needs have been few; and since the ancient cities were but 4, and the boroughs which sent burgesses not above 30, the entire body of the whole House of Commons could not then consist of 100 persons; and though Queen Mary did add 2 shires, and Queen Elizabeth 17 more, to increase the number of knights in that House, yet all did not send knights

to the Parliament; for the remote shires of Ulster returned none at all. For the Lords temporal, though they are yet but few, yet was the number less before King Henry VIII was styled King of Ireland; for since that time divers of the Irish nobility, and some descended of English race, have been created both earls and barons. And lastly, for the bishops and archbishops, though their number was greater than now it is, in respect to the divers unions made of latter years, yet such as were resident in the "mere" Irish countries, and did not acknowledge the King to be their patron, were never summoned to any Parliament.

And now, by way of comparison, it may easily appear unto your Lordship how much this first Parliament, now begun under the blessed government of our most gracious King James, is like to excel all former Parliaments. . . . This Parliament (God be blessed) is not called to repel an invasion, or to suppress a rebellion, or to reduce degenerate subjects to their obedience. . . . But now since God hath blessed the whole island with an universal peace and obedience, together with plenty, civility, and other felicities, more than ever it enjoyed in any former age; this general council of the whole Realm is called now principally to confirm and establish these blessings unto us, and to make them perpetual to our posterities. . . . Again, it is not called in such a time, as when the 4 shires of the Pale only did send their barons, knights and burgesses to the Parliament . . . but it is called in such a time, when this great and mighty Kingdom, being wholly reduced to shire ground, containeth 33 counties at large; when all Ulster and Connacht, as well as Leinster and Munster have voices in parliament by their knights and burgesses; when all the inhabitants of the Kingdom, English of birth, English of blood, the new British colony, and the old Irish natives, do all meet together to make laws, for the common good of themselves and their posterities. . . . And this doubtless is a great honour and happiness unto your Lordship [1] above all the former viceroys of this Kingdom, for that your Lordship doth now hold the first Parliament that may justly be called a common council, wherein all the commons throughout the Kingdom are present, and have free voices by their knights and burgesses; a felicity and a glory that many of your predecessors, zealous of the reformation of this Kingdom, did exceedingly desire, but could never attain unto it. How glad would Sir Henry Sydney have been to have seen this day; he that so much desired to reduce Ulster, but could never perfectly perform it: what honour would he have thought it unto himself, if he might have held a Parliament, unto which that province should have sent so many worthy knights and burgesses as now it doth? How joyful would Thomas Earl of Sussex have been to

[1] Sir Richard Chichester, Lord Deputy, 1604–14.

have seen the statute he caused to be made for reducing the Irish countries into shire ground,[1] to have taken so good effect as now it hath, since all these countries are now brought into counties, and do all send knights to serve in this Parliament?

(3) State of the Pale under Elizabeth. [William Gerard, Chancellor of Ireland, "The Estate of your Majesty's Country within the Pale" (Nov., 1576). *Cal. Carew MSS.*, II. 476–7.]

The countries within the Pale maintain three sorts of people. The barons, knights, chief of names, and gentlemen are few in number. The second sort, idle followers, are thieves, robbers and murderers. These swarm in number, and depend upon some chief person as their master, but he giveth them neither food nor clothes. They lie upon the simple ones in the country, and devour them; and where they cannot have entertainment . . . there they spoil and waste. These are the instruments ever ready to revenge any quarrel offered to those whom they follow. Their common manner to revenge is to prey upon the poor tenants of the adversary, who truly live and give not the offence, burn their houses, strip them out of all their clothing, how mean soever it be, leaving those poor ones to famine or starving. These idle followers have in this sort wasted a great part of divers the counties within your Majesty's Pale.

These be the persons who so terrify common passengers in many parts within the Pale, as without danger of life (except by good guard and conduct) they may not pass. These force the poor people to keep their cattle nightly in fastness.

The third sort, and the best, are the manurers of the soil (churls, as they be termed), poor wretched creatures in person, and as miserable by want of substance to yield them meat and clothes. These poor creatures cry out upon their misery and beggary, and say that these idle thieves, unmerciful landlords, and hard impositions work the same.

If it might be brought to pass that the soil now lying waste within the Pale were well manured and peopled, as may be gathered it was in the time of your noble progenitor, King Edward III, and until the Butlers and Geraldines, partaking with the contentions between the Houses of Lancaster and York, first wasted the same, they would be able to defend themselves without great number of soldiers in garrison, and so save your Majesty's treasure, which have been and is at this day spent in the maintenance of the garrison.

The way to root up this evil of idle followers is duly to put in execution those good laws which were enacted by Parliament in the time of King Henry VI. Besides sitting terms at Dublin,

[1] 3 & 4 Philip and Mary, c. 3. *Irish Statutes* (1786), I. 244.

there must be itinerant circuiting sessions throughout the Pale twice every year, to administer justice with severity. By that means your people in Wales were brought to civility.

["A Declaration of the Present State of the English Pale of Ireland, and of many the causes which hath (*sic*) brought the same to misery and ruin (1598)." *Cal. S.P. Ireland* (1598–9), pp. 433–4.]

The said English Pale consisteth of 5 shires, viz., Dublin, Meath, Westmeath, Kildare, and Louth, not much larger in all than Yorkshire in England; whereof the county of Louth, that part of the county of Meath which lieth north and west the river of Boyne, the county of Westmeath, the county of Kildare, and that part of the county of Dublin lying by south the river of Liffey, are for the most part spoiled, wasted and consumed, by burning or otherwise, save some castles in each of the said shires, where the owners do shroud themselves from the rebels, which they cannot long hold without your Majesty's speedy relief. This waste and destruction is grown by these three ways, viz., by the incursions of the traitors and rebels; by the daily great insolences, extreme outrages, and disorders of soldiers; and by the manifold burdens laid on the subjects by your Majesty's Governors, Council, and Commanders here.

(4) Discontent of the Anglo-Irish. [Petition of the Inhabitants of the English Pale to Lord Deputy Sydney and Council (1576). *Cal. Carew MSS.*, II. 57.]

For some years past we have been oppressed with cesses and exactions contrary to the laws, and our corn, grain, beeves, muttons and other "accates" (provisions) have been taken up at mean and base prices, whereby we are reduced to great decay and poverty. We therefore beseech that henceforth her Majesty's subjects be no further exacted or oppressed other than her Highness's laws and statutes of the Realm doth warrant and allow of. . . .

[A Brief Estimate . . . of all such Cess as is yearly taken up within the English Pale . . . for the Provision of the Lord Deputy's household, together with their several rates and the prices accustomed to be paid for the same"[1] (11 Jan., 1577). *Cal. Carew MSS.*, II. 58–9.]

Beeves, 1,000 at 9*s.* sterling the beef, which is the price allowed unto them by the Council. If they were sold in the market they would be worth 20*s.* sterling. Beer, malt, and wheat, 1,000 pecks, at 2*s.* 6*d.* ster. the peck, may be sold for 5*s.*; oat

[1] The list of prices given here by "Viscount Baltinglas and others," possibly tends to illustrate the prosperity of the Pale at this period rather than otherwise.—*Cal. Car. MSS.*, III. lxxxiv.

malt, 700 pecks, at 16*d.* the peck, may be sold at 3*s.* in the market; and so the country lost 1*s.* 8*d.* in every peck. Muttons, 3,900 at 12*d.* a piece; which they affirm they may have in the market at 2*s.* 6*d.* Veals, 130, at 12*d.* a piece; may be sold at 5*s.* a piece. Porks, 240, at 3*s.*; worth 8*s.* Bacons, 12, at 5*s.* a piece; worth 13*s.* 4*d.* Butter, 2,580 gallons, at 9*d.* the gallon; worth 2*s.* 6*d.* Lambs, 300, answered by the said Lord Deputy but after the rate of 3*d.* a piece; worth 12*d.* Pigs, 700, at 3*d.*; worth 12*d.* Geese, 200, at 3*d.*; worth 6*d.* Capons, 160, at 3*d.*; worth 6*d.* Chickens, 1,500, ¾*d.*; worth 1½*d.* Horse meat: 120 horses kept at hard meat, having sufficient hay . . . with . . . oats . . . double banded for every horse . . . for the which the country hath allowance for every horse but after the rate of ¾*d.* sterling . . . against which they esteem the keeping of every one of the said horses to be worth 4*d.* sterling, day and night. . . . Carts for the carriage of hay, faggots, wood and coal, with divers other provisions; 2 carts taken up for the carriage of the Lord Deputy's provisions, with 4 garrons (ponies) and 2 men for every cart, for which there is paid but 2*s.* sterling a day; yet they cannot be hired in any place under 5*s.* a day. Sum total of the money lost by the country in paying the cesses aforesaid, £2,210 11*s.* 8*d.* sterling.

[Fynes Moryson, "Of the Commonwealth of Ireland." Pr. in C. L. Falkiner's *Illustrations of Irish History*, pp. 251–60.]

. . . To the first English-Irish born of noble families in England our Kings gave large patrimonies and great privileges, making them sometimes Governors of the State, but in process of time, some of them forgetting their country, blood, and all pledges of love towards the English, not only became rebels, but by degrees grew like the "mere" Irish in all things, even in hating the English, and becoming chief leaders to all seditions. . . . The grand cause [of their alienation from us and affiliation to the "mere" Irish] is their firm consent with them in the Roman religion. . . . The second cause, also predominant . . . is the profit they have long time found in the barbarous laws and customs of the Irish, by tyrannical oppression of the poor people under them. . . . The third cause is their contracting affinity with them by marriage, and amity by mutual fostering of children. The fourth is community of apparel. The fifth community of language. . . .

[Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary* (1617), III. iii. 299–300.]

At this time [1613] I found the state of Ireland much changed; for by the flight of the Earl of Tyrone and the Earl of Tyrconnel . . . all the North was possessed by new colonies of English, but speecially of Scots.

The "mere" (pure) Irish in the North, and over all Ireland continued still in absolute subjection, being powerful in no part of the Kingdom, excepting only Connacht, where their chief strength was yet little to be feared, if the English-Irish there had found hearts to the State. But the English-Irish in all parts (and especially in the Pale) either by our too much cherishing them since the last rebellion (in which we found many of them false-hearted), or by the King's religious courses to reform them in their obstinate addiction to Popery (even in these points which oppugned his Majesty's temporal power), or by the fullness of bread in time of peace (whereof no nation sooner surfeits than the Irish) were grown so wanton, so incensed, and so high in the instep, as they had of late mutinously broken of a Parliament,[1] called for the public good and reformation of the Kingdom, and from that time continued to make many clamorous complaints against the English governors (especially those of the Pale against the worthy Lord Deputy and his Ministers) through their sides wounding the royal authority. . . . So as now when Ireland should have enjoyed the fruits of the last war, in the due subjection of the "mere" Irish, these times threaten the next combustions from our degenerate English-Irish.

[1] For a short account of the Parliament of 1613–15, see Bagwell, *Ireland under the Stuarts*, I. ch. 7.

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